



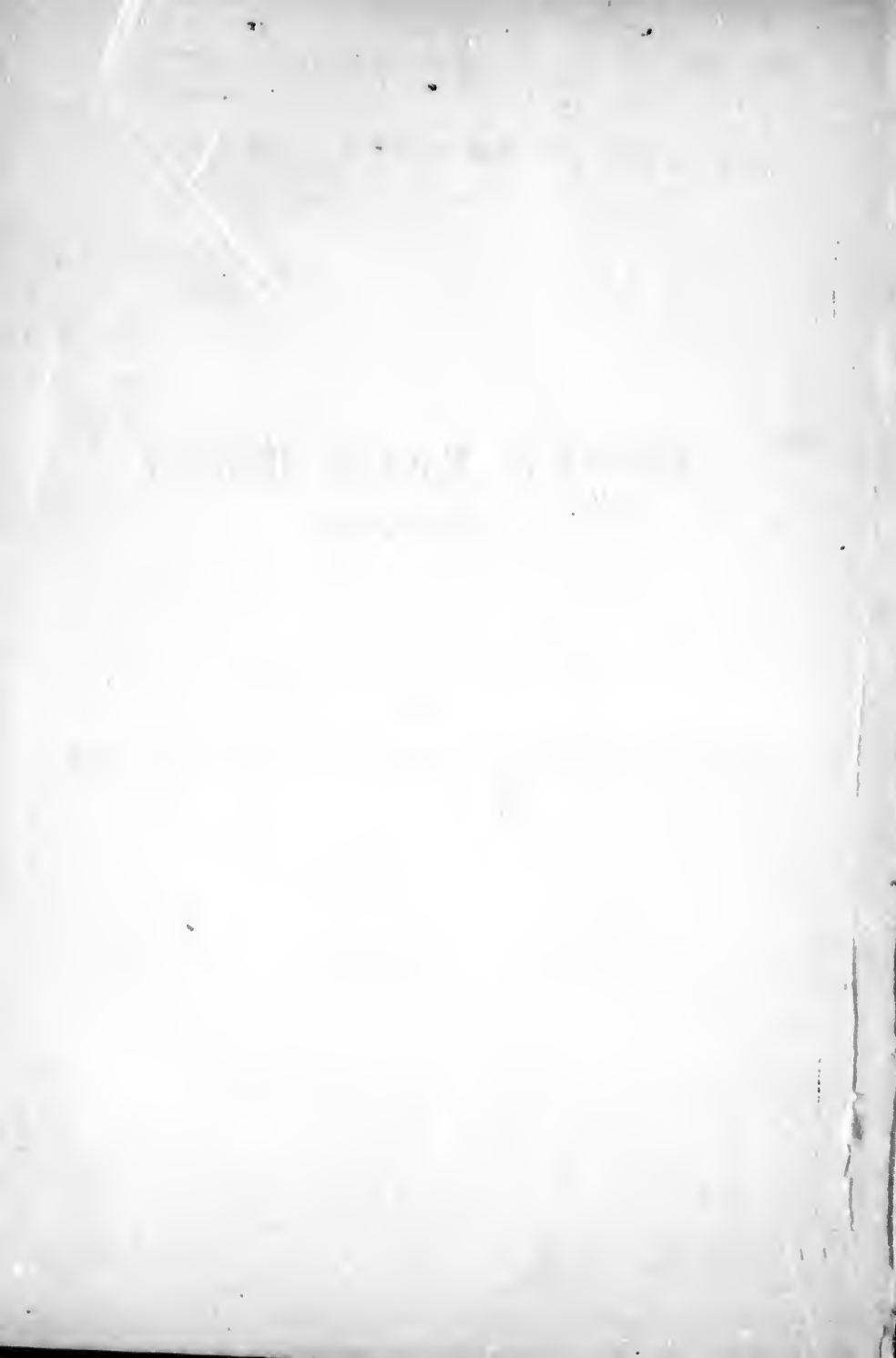
EPOCHS OF ENGLISH HISTORY

EDITED BY THE

REV. M. CREIGHTON, M.A.

The

STRUGGLE against ABSOLUTE MONARCHY



Miller & Co.'s Educational Series

EPOCHS OF ENGLISH HISTORY.

THE STRUGGLE

AGAINST

ABSOLUTE MONARCHY,

1603—1688.

BY

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AUTHOR OF 'KING AND COMMONWEALTH,'

WITH TWO MAPS.

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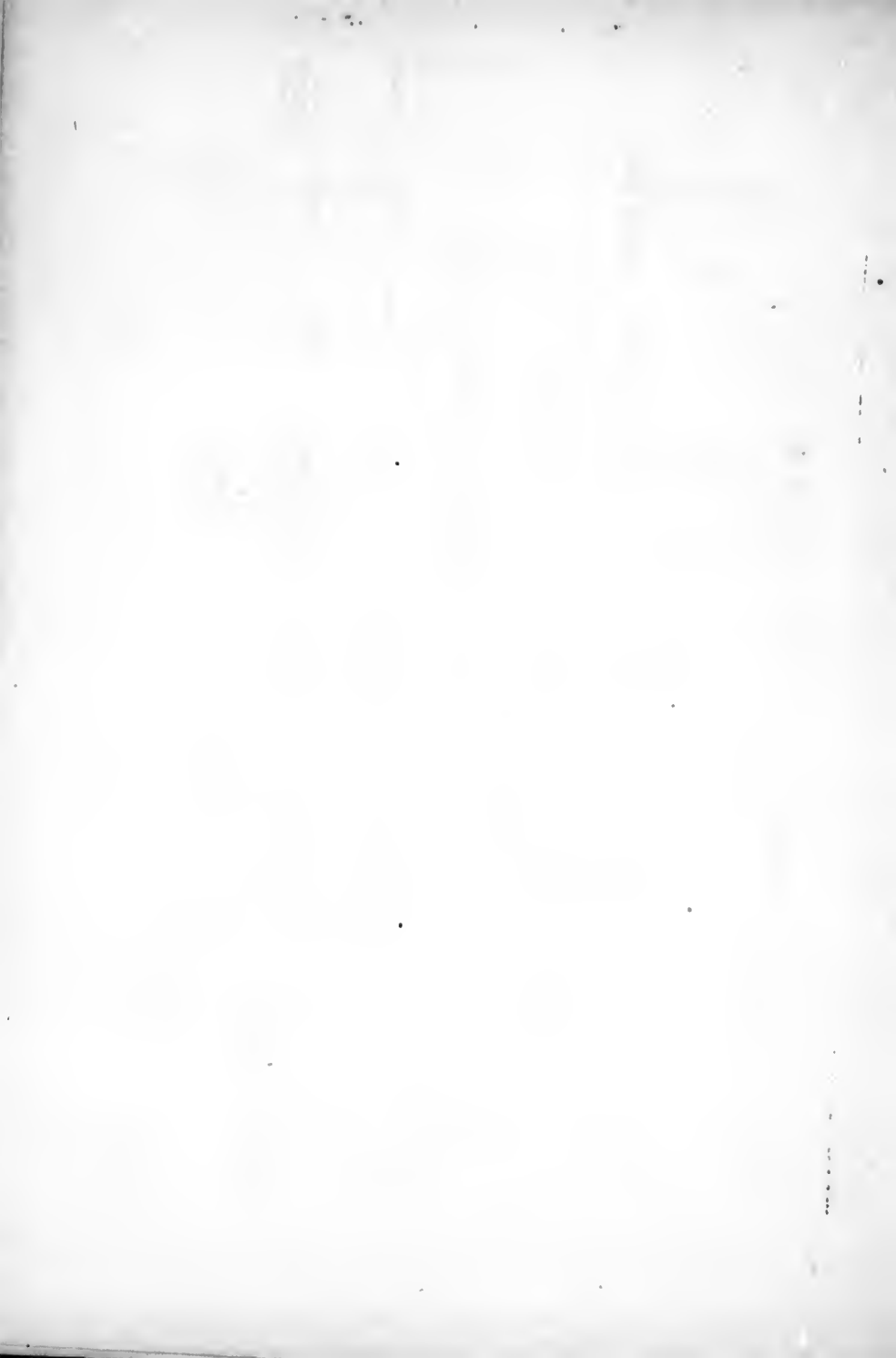
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THE STRUGGLE AGAINST ABSOLUTE MONARCHY

INTRODUCTION.

A GREAT question was fought out in England while the Stuarts reigned. It was this : was the chief power in the country to be the power of the king or the power of the Parliament ; in other words, were the English to be a self-governed people or were they to be governed according to the will of one man ?

The Tudors had ruled during a century of change and danger, when it was needful that the king should have much power in his hand, so that order might prevail at home and foreign princes be kept from meddling in English affairs. But when the fear of foreign foes was past, and the king did things which the people did not want to see done, they were not willing to let him have so much power as the Tudor kings had had. The points which we shall have especially to notice in reading this book are—

(1) How the Stuarts made use of the powers which the Tudors had left them to act against the wishes of the people.

(2) How the Parliament tried to force the Stuarts to carry out the wishes of the people.

(3) How the Stuarts tried to free themselves from the control of Parliament.

(4) How the struggle between king and Parliament was at last brought to an end by the gift of the crown to a prince who was willing to do the things which the Parliament wished to be done.

BOOK I.

1603-1623.

CAUSES OF QUARREL BETWEEN THE KING AND THE PARLIAMENT.

CHAPTER I.

PURITANS AND ROMAN CATHOLICS.

1. GREAT changes have come over England since 1603, when James I. became king. Ideas which are now nearly as common as the air we breathe were then new and rare, or even unknown. Thus people now think that each man must be left to worship God after his own fashion. Then people thought that all men, who obeyed the same king, must worship God after the same fashion. The Act of Uniformity, passed by Parliament in 1559, had ordered that the services laid down in the Prayer Book should be held in every church in England. No other services might be held even in a room with closed doors.

2. Though all Protestants had separated from the old Church, they had not all taken up the same religious beliefs.

The Puritans. In England there were men called Puritans, who wished to make the service of the Church of England more unlike the service of the Church of Rome than the reformers of the reign of Edward VI. had left it. They complained that forms and ceremonies were still in

use which were not according to the Bible. Thus there were many clergymen who did not like to make the sign of the cross when they baptized a child, or to wear a surplice during the church services.

Queen Elizabeth did not wish for any more changes, and so chose archbishops and bishops to govern the Church of England who were no friends to the Puritans. They thought that the Church services needed no change and that the Puritans were making an outcry about trifles. So they turned out of their livings ministers who did not use the ceremonies laid down in the Prayer Book.

The people, as a body, liked the services of their Church. Still they wished that something should be done to content the Puritans. It was not easy to find enough good and able men to be parish ministers, and as the ministers who held with the Puritans were usually very able and zealous, it seemed a great pity that they should lose their livings because they did not like to wear a surplice. So when James came to the throne men hoped that he would let laws be made by Parliament ordering (1) that ministers should not be turned out of their livings for not using all the ceremonies laid down in the Prayer Book, and (2) that every parish should have a good and able man as minister.

3. James was already king of Scotland when he came to the English throne. He was son of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, whom Elizabeth beheaded, and great-grandson of Margaret, sister of Henry VIII. James I.
Scotland and England were thus brought together under the rule of one king, but each country still had its own Parliament, its own Church, and its own laws.

4. James was thirty-six years old. He had read a good deal, could talk well, and often said witty things much to the point. James and
the Puritans But he had two great faults which prevented his being a wise king. He

was cowardly and he was selfish. He always thought, not of what was best for his people, but of what was best for himself, and so he often made great mistakes and did a great deal of harm. This was the case in his dealings with the Puritan clergy, of whom, as it happened, he was afraid. The reformers in Scotland had done away with those ceremonies with which the English Puritans found fault. They had done more. They had also done away with bishops, and set up a Church which was governed by assemblies of ministers and elders. These elders were sometimes called *presbyters*, from a Greek word meaning elder, and hence the Church they helped to govern was called the Presbyterian Church. Now the archbishops and bishops, who governed the English Church, were appointed by the king, and so were men whom the king could trust to carry out his wishes. But the elders and ministers, who governed the Church of Scotland, had their power from the people, and had often gone against the king's wishes. James, therefore, now fancied that the Puritan ministers in England were wishing to do away with bishops and to get power into their own hands. So although he let the questions in dispute between the bishops and the Puritans be talked over in his presence at Hampton Court, at the end he made no such changes as would satisfy the Puritans, and even told the bishops to be stricter with them than before. Nor when Parliament met, in 1604, would he let the members meddle in any way in Church matters. But Parliament was not content with what the king had done, and this question of the treatment of Puritans became one of the questions about which the king and his Parliaments could not agree.

5. Though the Parliament wished to do something for the Puritans, it had no mercy on men who still clung to the old Church. Not only was the Catholic faith held to be harmful to the minds of men, but Catholics themselves

were looked upon as bad subjects. Some had plotted against Elizabeth's life and government ; others had joined the new Catholic order of Jesuits and gone about the country in disguise, stirring up Catholics to keep firm to their faith. These Jesuits were much feared, for they were thought to be the friends of the Pope and of the Catholic king of Spain. So it had come about that, while Elizabeth reigned, one law after another had been made against Catholics. Catholics who stayed away from church were heavily fined ; those who hid priests in their houses were cast into prison. Many Jesuits and priests were put to death as traitors because they would not deny that the Pope had a right to meddle in England in matters which concerned religion.

Laws
against
Catholics.

6. Whether these laws were always fully carried out depended much on the will of the king. The Parliament and the king together made laws, but it was the king and his officers who put them in force. When James became king he did not wish to deal harshly with Catholics. He knew that though some had plotted against Elizabeth, yet that the greater number had been true to her, and he thought that, if he showed them mercy, Catholics would be obedient subjects to himself. But he had not reigned long when a plot was discovered which made the Parliament wish more than before to see the king always put the laws in force. A band of desperate men formed a plan of blowing up Parliament House on November 5, 1605, when Parliament was to be opened in state by the king. With this purpose they hired a cellar under the Houses of Parliament, which they filled with barrels of gunpowder hidden under bundles of faggots. James' ministers found out something about the plot, and on the evening of November 4, Guido, or Guy, Fawkes was taken with a lantern in his hand,

Gunpowder
Plot.

keeping watch and ward amongst the faggots. Though there were only some fifteen conspirators, yet all English Catholics suffered because of their crime. For harsher laws were passed against Catholics, and James for some years to come put the laws in force.

CHAPTER II.

THE SPANISH MARRIAGE TREATY.

1. JAMES was not always a wise king, but in one thing he was wiser than his neighbours. He was not fond of war, and wished that Catholic and Protestant States could learn to live in peace. England and Spain were at war when he came to the throne, but he very soon made peace between them. Afterwards, in the year 1614, he wanted to marry the Prince of Wales to the Infanta Maria, a daughter of Philip III., the king of Spain. He thought that England and Spain, if they acted together as friends, would be able to prevent wars from breaking out on the Continent between Catholics and Protestants. This scheme seemed to James very clever, but it was really a great mistake. For Philip III., king of Spain, was the head of the Catholic princes, and he only cared to let the marriage be talked about in the hope of getting James to agree not to put the laws in force against English Catholics. Still, as time went on, James did not find this out, but only set his heart more and more on bringing this match about.

2. Rather than run the chance of quarrelling with the king of Spain, James did an act which brought on him the scorn of his subjects. While Elizabeth reigned Sir Walter Raleigh had won himself a great name as courtier, traveller, coloniser, and historian. But shortly after her death, he was mixed up in some

plot against James, and though there was little to show that he had done anything wrong, he was sentenced to die as a traitor (1603). James, however, did not cause Raleigh to be put to death, but kept him a prisoner in the Tower.

3. After thirteen years had gone by Raleigh, who was weary of his long imprisonment, let it come to the king's ear that near the river Orinoco in Guiana there was a mine which, if worked, might yield rich store of gold. James was poor and much in debt, and the thought of being the owner of a gold-mine was very pleasant to him. So he let Raleigh sail in command of a fleet of thirteen vessels to seek the mine, but told him that he was on no account to fight the Spaniards. But it was not easy to avoid fighting the Spaniards, for they claimed the West India Islands and all the continent of South America as their own, and whenever the vessels of other nations came to make discoveries or trade with the Indians, they attacked them and murdered their crews. Raleigh knew this, but he knew James too, and he thought that if only he brought back gold he should be forgiven, even though he had fought the Spaniards. When his fleet reached the Orinoco, Raleigh sent a party of explorers up the country to seek for the mine. He could not go himself, for he had fallen very ill, but, along with others, he placed in command his son Walter, and Keymis, a trusted friend, and he bade them not to fight the Spaniards unless in self-defence. Now the Spaniards had built a village, called St. Thomas, on the Orinoco, made of stakes covered with leaves of trees. They knew the English were coming, so they laid an ambush and fell upon their camp by night. The English fought bravely, and drove the Spaniards back, and took possession of their village. But young Walter Raleigh was killed in the fight. Then Keymis led a

Raleigh's
expedition
to Guiana,
1617.

party yet farther up the Orinoco in search for the mine. But the Spaniards and Indians waylaid them and killed many. So Keymis' heart failed him, and he went back to St. Thomas, and all the English returned to their commander and their fleet. But first they set fire to the village, for they wished to be revenged on the Spaniards. When this tale was told to Raleigh, he reproached Keymis with bitter words, because he had not found out the mine and brought back gold to show the king. Then Keymis, in despair, for he saw that ruin had befallen both himself and his master, went into his cabin and stabbed himself to the heart. But Raleigh came back to England, and the sentence of death which had been passed against him fifteen years ago was carried out and he was beheaded on the scaffold. And this James did to please the king of Spain. (1618).

4. Soon a war broke out between the Catholics and Protestants on the Continent, and the worth of this Thirty Years' War. alliance with Spain, for which the king had just given Raleigh's head, was put to the test. The war was called the Thirty Years' War from the length of time which it lasted (1618-1648). James's daughter, Elizabeth, had married, in 1613, Frederic, the Prince of the Palatinate, one of the states of the Empire, lying along the Upper Rhine. This prince was the Protestant leader who was most concerned in the war. For the people of Bohemia, wishing a Protestant to reign over them, had chosen him for their king instead of their former king, Ferdinand, who was a Catholic. But Ferdinand, who was also Archduke of Austria and Emperor, raised large armies and drove Frederic first out of Bohemia and afterwards out of the Palatinate also. Philip of Spain was related to Ferdinand. James, therefore, wished Philip to get Ferdinand to make peace with the Protestants and give the Palatinate back to

Frederic. Philip made fair promises, but all the time his own armies were fighting on the side of the Catholics. Meanwhile men in England complained bitterly of their king's fondness for Spain. They would have liked James to fight Spain and marry the Prince to a Protestant lady, for they thought that a marriage with a Catholic and a Spaniard would bring their country into many dangers. The Parliament, therefore, through dislike of the match, became very eager that James should put the laws in force against Catholics, whilst James, lest he should make Philip angry, would not do so.

CHAPTER III.

THE KING AND THE PARLIAMENT.

1. WE have found the king and the Parliament holding different opinions on three important questions : (1) the treatment of Puritans, (2) the treatment of Catholics, (3) the Spanish Marriage Treaty. Powers of the king. When the king and the Parliament disagreed one or the other must give way. It was a question which would be stronger. Let us see what powers each held.

The power of the king was then much greater than it is now. Queen Victoria only chooses as her ministers men whom the Parliament is willing to support. The ministers, thus chosen, carry on the government as the House of Commons wishes, though in the name of the queen. Parliament meets every year, and every year the ministers have to explain what they have done to the representatives of the people, and have to get their consent to their acts.

James I. chose his ministers solely to please himself. He expected them to carry out his wishes without heeding the wishes of the Parliament. He never thought of

explaining his acts to his Parliament, nor did he call together a Parliament every year, but only when it seemed good to himself.

2. But though James had a great deal of power, the nation had rights and liberties to set against the powers of the crown. (1) The king could make no laws without consent of Parliament. (2) He could take no taxes without consent of Parliament. (3) He was bound to act according to the law; for instance, he could not put a subject into prison except according to due course of law. From this right of the people not to be taxed without their own consent it followed that the House of Commons was able to control the king's actions. The king had not money enough of his own to pay for the expenses of his court and government; so when he wanted more money, as was often the case, he had to call a Parliament and ask for a grant. Then the Parliament, before giving him money, could ask him to do something which they wanted to have done.

3. In the times of the Plantagenets the House of Lords had far more power than the House of Commons. But it was the House of Commons which now took the first place. For the members, who were generally merchants and country gentlemen, now more than equalled the nobles in wealth, knowledge and influence. It was quite natural, therefore, that the gentlemen who sat in the House of Commons should form opinions of their own on affairs of state, and like to tell the king if they thought he was going wrong. But it was also natural that the king should think himself wiser than the Commons, and dislike to have his actions talked about. If the king and the Commons, therefore, were to work together, it was needful that they should trust one another, and have the same ideas of what were the right things to do in dealing with the great questions of their day.

Rights of
the people.

Position of
the king and
the Com-
mons.

But we have seen that James did not do what his people wanted him to do. He thus began a struggle which was to last for more than eighty years. The Stuart kings, one after another, all tried to free themselves from the control of Parliament. Parliament, on its side, strove to maintain its position, and force the king to submit his wishes to its wishes. It is the course of this struggle between king and Parliament which we shall have to follow.

4. The Commons used to beg James to set right what they thought amiss in his government, and when they did not get an answer they liked, gave him no money. James thought them very rude for James and his Parliaments. meddling. He wished to have as few meetings of Parliament as possible; so he began in one way and another to take his subjects' money without first asking their consent. Though in defence of his conduct he could say that Elizabeth had sometimes done the same thing, yet the people were not willing that he should do as she had done. For they had trusted Elizabeth, and knew that she spent their money well. They did not, however, trust James, and each time Parliament met, it became more than ever discontented with him.

5. Sir Francis Bacon, who was a very learned man, was one of James' ministers. He often gave the king good advice. But James did not follow good advice; James' favourites. he believed in his own wisdom and went his own way, or else chose unworthy men to help him by their counsel. The one of these favourites who got most power was George Villiers, a young man whose handsome face and pleasant manner first caught the king's fancy (1615). Very soon James could refuse him nothing. Many offices and honours were given him, as well as the title of Duke of Buckingham.

6. Under the rule of these favourites, drunkenness, bribery, and vice of all kinds was common at James'

court. Bacon himself, in spite of his learning, gave way to the same ill deeds as those around him. He was Lord Chancellor, and sat as judge in the Court of Chancery. In 1621 the House of Commons *impeached* him, that is, accused him before the House of Lords for having taken gifts from persons over whose cases he had to sit as judge. The House of Lords found him guilty of bribery and corruption, and sentenced him to pay a large fine and never to hold office again. Very likely Bacon did not look on these presents as bribes, and did not give sentences in favour of those who made him gifts. But it was a wrong thing for a judge to take gifts at all. Bacon's own remark was: 'I was the justest judge that was in England these fifty years, but it was the justest sentence in Parliament that was these two hundred years.'

In the trial of Bacon the House of Commons acted the part of accuser, the House of Lords the part of judge. Two hundred years ago there had been like cases of impeachment. It was a great thing that this old practice was again brought into use, for it opened a way by which the Commons were able to force the king's ministers to answer to Parliament for what they did.

BOOK II.

1623-1628.

THE RULE OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

CHAPTER I.

1623-1626. A WAR POLICY.

1. THE Duke of Buckingham lived with the king, and with Charles, the Prince of Wales, as with familiar friends.

They called one another by nicknames, Buckingham being 'Steenie,' the Prince of Wales 'Baby Charles,' the king himself their 'dear Dad and Gossip.' In 1623, when the terms of the Spanish marriage treaty were nearly agreed on, 'Steenie' and 'Baby Charles' got James' leave and went to Spain in disguise, meaning to bring back with them the bride about whom there had been so much talk for the past eight years. Philip IV., at that time king of Spain, received them very graciously; but the wooing did not turn out well in the end. The Infanta did not like Charles because he was a Protestant. Once when he jumped over a wall into a garden where she was walking, the young lady screamed and ran away. Moreover the Spanish ministers did not care to bring the match about, unless England was to be made a Catholic country. So now they angered Charles by saying that the Infanta must stay in Spain a year after the marriage, as a pledge that James would get rid of the laws against English Catholics. At the same time they would not do what Charles wanted of them, and fight the Emperor in order to win back the Palatinate for Frederic, James' Protestant son-in-law. So Charles and Buckingham came back to England in an angry temper, forced James, to his sorrow, to break off the treaty, and threatened Spain with war.

Spanish
match
broken off.

2. Buckingham was bold, ambitious, and very sure that he could do all he wished to do; but he was ignorant, headstrong, and not very clever. He was now really the ruler of England. Charles was ready to follow him wherever he led the way, and if James went against his wishes he scolded until the old man yielded. So Buckingham thought he could do what he chose, and he made many great plans. He wanted to form alliances with France, Denmark, and

Plans of
Buckingham.

Holland, punish Spain, send armies into Germany, and get back the Palatinate for James' son-in-law.

3. Parliament met in February 1624. The Commons wished the king to make war on Spain by sea; so they

Last Parlia-
ment of
James I.

gave him a grant of money. But it was understood that the money was not to be used for sending armies into Germany, but for fitting out a fleet. They also got a solemn promise from James and Charles that if the Prince should marry a Catholic, nothing should be said in the marriage treaty about the English Catholics. These promises were not kept. An army was raised and sent across the Channel to march through Holland into Germany. About the same time James and Charles agreed that the laws against the English Catholics should not be put into force, and on these terms Charles in 1625 married Henrietta Maria, sister of Lewis XIII., king of France.

4. In March 1625 James I. died, and Charles I. came to the throne. Charles very speedily dissolved his two first

First parlia-
ments of
Charles I.

Parliaments, for he found that the Commons would not give him money. The Commons refused because they had no trust in Buckingham. Not only had he led the king to break his word, but all his undertakings turned out ill. The soldiers sent to Holland died of cold and hunger. A fleet sent against Spain sailed into the harbour of Cadiz, but afterwards came back without having fought an enemy; on the voyage home the soldiers and sailors died by hundreds through the bad food which had been given them (1625).

5. In spite of this ill success, Buckingham was very sure that he should win in the end, and Charles gave way to

War with
France.

him, so neither of them thought of making peace because the Parliament would not give money. They had not broken their word to the Com-

mons without a reason. When they promised Lewis XIII. not to put the laws in force against Catholics, they had thought that he would aid them in the war in Germany ; but now, as Lewis had not given them the aid they hoped for, they were bold enough to find causes of quarrel with him and to go to war with France (1626).

CHAPTER II.

THE PETITION OF RIGHT. 1627, 1628.

I. THAT he might be able to carry on this new war, Charles tried to raise large sums of money without consent of Parliament. He did so under pretence of a loan, though there was no chance that the lenders would ever get their money back again. The tax was called a forced loan, for men who refused to lend the king money were thrown into prison. Now as there were Acts of Parliament forbidding the king to take his subjects' money at his pleasure, so there were Acts of Parliament forbidding him to shut his subjects up in prison at his pleasure. The Great Charter, granted by King John, had said that no freeman should be sent to prison save by the law of the land. When, therefore, any person was sent to prison, a warrant stating his offence was given to his gaoler. The prisoner or his friends could then ask the judges of the Court of King's Bench for a writ of *Habeas Corpus*. These words, meaning 'produce the body,' were the first words of the writ, which was simply an order to the gaoler bidding him bring his prisoner and the warrant before the Court. Then the judges, after they had seen what offence was named in the warrant, would either send the prisoner back to prison, there to await the

The writ
of *Habeas
Corpus*.

time of his trial, or set him at liberty, if he promised to come and answer to his charge at the time of trial. If the prisoner was sent back to prison, he could ask the judges to name a day for his trial, so that he could not be kept shut up for a very long time.

2. Five gentlemen whom Charles sent to prison for refusing to pay the loan money got a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and so came before the Court of King's Bench. Imprisonment without cause given. The judges looked at the warrant brought by the gaoler, and found that they were sent to prison by the king's order, but that no cause was given. What then were the judges to do? As no reason was set down on the warrant, they could not tell whether they ought to set the prisoners at liberty or send them back to prison. What was even worse, the prisoners could not get any day named for their trial.

The lawyers who pleaded for the prisoners said that, since no cause of imprisonment was given, they ought to be set at liberty; otherwise the king might keep them shut up in prison till the day of their death. This, they said, was contrary to the Great Charter, and did away with the liberties of Englishmen. The court was crowded with listeners, who clapped their hands and shouted applause when they heard the lawyers say things like this.

But the lawyers who pleaded on Charles' side said that kings of England had often sent men to prison without giving any reason, and that what former kings had done, Charles might also do. It was true that former kings had done so, and in times of danger when there were fears of plots, as at the time of the Gunpowder Plot, it might be needful to imprison men without giving a reason. But this now seemed an unlawful thing for Charles to do, because it was not men who were plotting against him whom he shut up, but good subjects who refused to give him money to which he had no right.

The Judges, however, did not set the five gentlemen at liberty, but sent them back to prison; for they were afraid of angering the King.

3. Buckingham sailed with a large fleet in 1627 to the west coast of France, and landed on the island of Rhé; but after staying a few months on the island he had to sail home again, because he was short of supplies, and had lost many of his men.

Expedition
to the Isle
of Rhé.

4. Buckingham had persuaded the Protestant town of La Rochelle, lying on the mainland opposite the Island of Rhé, to take part with the English. Charles felt in honour bound to help this town, which was now being closely besieged by Lewis. So, in hope of getting a grant of money, he first let out of prison the refusers of the loan money, and afterwards called his third Parliament (1628). The Commons had many things to complain of, but these three things above all others:—the forced loan; the imprisonments without cause given; the refusal of the judges to set the prisoners at liberty. One of the chief men in the house was Sir John Eliot, and he spoke out like a man for the liberties of Englishmen. ‘Upon this dispute,’ he said, ‘not alone our lands and goods are engaged, but all that we call ours. These rights, these privileges, which made our fathers freemen, are in question. If they be not the more carefully preserved, they will, I fear, render us less free, less worthy than our fathers.’ Sir Thomas Wentworth was also a chief man in the house, and a good speaker. He wanted, however, to get a great name and power for himself, and he cared less about the liberties of England than Eliot. As he did not like the wars with France and Spain, he now spoke against the unlawful means by which Charles had got together money to carry them on. ‘What is it,’ he said, ‘that we have to make sure? New

Charles’
third Par-
liament,
1628.

things? No; our ancient, sober, and vital liberties, by strengthening the laws of our ancestors, by setting such a stamp upon them that no lawless spirit shall dare hereafter to invade them.'

5. The Commons after listening to words like these drew up a new law. It was called a Petition of Right, The Petition of Right. and was meant not to get them new liberties, but to be a guard round the old. This petition asked the king to say :—

(1.) That no freeman should have to pay any loan, tax, or such-like charge without common consent by Act of Parliament.

(2.) That no freeman should be sent to prison without a cause being shown.

The House of Lords agreed to the petition, and Charles gave it the royal assent. In return the Parliament gave him a grant of money, and the Session was afterwards brought to an end.

6. In August, 1628, Buckingham was about to sail with a fleet to Rochelle, when a man named Felton Murder of Buckingham. stabbed him to the heart. For this murder Felton was tried and hanged; but the people rejoiced at the duke's death, and looked on Felton as a martyr.

The fleet sailed, but could not make its way into the harbour of Rochelle; so, after thousands had died of hunger, the city surrendered to Lewis. Nor was this the only place which had looked to Charles and Buckingham for help, and had found that they could do nothing. The King of Denmark had been promised a large sum of money to help him in making war against the Catholics in Germany; but no money was sent, and he was beaten in war.

After Buckingham's death Charles made peace, first with France in 1629, and then with Spain in 1630.

BOOK III.

1629-1640.

GOVERNMENT WITHOUT PARLIAMENTS.

CHAPTER I.

DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT IN 1629.

1. **THOUGH** the Petition of Right had been passed, and though Buckingham was dead, yet the king and the Commons could not agree better than they had done before. They disputed about the meaning of the Petition of Right. The Commons said that the king henceforth could take no taxes without consent of Parliament. But it happened that the customs duties, that is, taxes laid on goods sent out of or brought into the country, had not been mentioned by name in the petition. So Charles said that he still had a right to take these duties without consent of Parliament.

2. There was a second question about which the king and the Commons could not agree. It was a very important one. We saw that when James came to the throne he persecuted Puritans, and would not let the Parliament make laws to set right what they thought amiss in the Church. Since that time new differences had arisen between the bishops and the Commons. At first they had only disagreed about the treatment of Puritans. Afterwards they began to disagree about matters of religious belief. The English prayer-book had much in it which was the same as the service book of the old Church ; it had also many things which

Customs
Duties.High
Churchmen
and Calvin-
ists.

were put in it at the time of the Reformation. During the last thirty years new teachers had arisen in England, who seemed to wish to look only at those things in the prayer-book which were like the old service book, and so were like the beliefs held by the Church of Rome. They seemed to wish to pass over all the changes that had been made and hold them to be but small. Most Englishmen thought that the changes made at the Reformation were great and important changes, and they did not like these new teachers. But the king listened to them gladly, and made some of them bishops, so that they had great power over the Church. These new teachers we should now call High-churchmen. Those who were against them were then called Calvinists, because they held the beliefs of the reformer Calvin, who in the last century had set up a Protestant Church at Geneva.

It was thought to be part of the duty of the Government to put down all false doctrine. No books might be published except such as got the leave of the king's ministers. The High-churchmen, therefore, wished that the king should forbid the Calvinists to teach and preach, while the Calvinists wished that the king should forbid the High-churchmen to teach and preach.

Charles would have done well if he had not taken the side of either of these two parties ; but he was drawn to the side of the High-churchmen. In all the disputes which had arisen between himself and the Commons they had taken his part, trying to set up the royal power, and pull down the power of Parliaments. Kings, they said, were given their power by God ; subjects, therefore, ought to obey their prince's commands, even though they were contrary to Acts of Parliament. It was partly because the High-churchmen said things like this in books and sermons that the Commons wished so much to put them to silence, for they believed that those men were

most true to their king who obeyed the laws and would not pay unlawful taxes.

3. Shortly before Parliament met again in 1629, Charles published a declaration which still stands in the Prayer-book, in front of the Articles. In this he said that henceforth no man, whether High-churchman or Calvinist, was to preach or write on doctrines about which men did not agree. Perhaps Charles thought this was fair to both parties, but it was not really so. The men who would judge what was right to preach and what was not were the bishops. These were High-churchmen who would be on the side of those who preached what they themselves believed.

*The King's
declaration.*

4. So, when Parliament met again, the discord was greater than ever. The Commons called on the king to forbid the High-churchmen to preach and write, and leave their own friends, the Calvinists, at liberty to preach and write what they pleased. They also said that the Petition of Right had been broken because the customs-duties were taken without consent of Parliament. One day the Speaker, who was the king's friend, wanted to leave the house rather than let the members pass a vote against the taking of customs-duties not granted by Parliament. Two members held him down by force in his chair, while a third called out, 'that they were traitors who should bring in changes in religion, or who should take or pay customs-duties not granted by Parliament.' 'Aye, aye,' members shouted on all sides, and then left the House amidst noise and confusion. After this Charles dissolved the Parliament, and made up his mind not to call another for a long time to come.

*Dissolution
of Parlia-
ment.*

CHAPTER II.

LAUD AND THE PURITANS.

1. CHARLES I. was a loving husband and father, and lived very happily with his wife and children. He was fond of collecting pictures, statues, and other works of art. Of books he knew quite as much as most gentlemen of his time. He was very attentive to business. But though Charles was neither ignorant, nor lazy, nor stupid, he would never make a good king. He kept too much to his own opinions, and would not listen to others nor trust them. He did not care about being liked by his subjects. His chief care was to make himself obeyed. He knew that Elizabeth had ruled very much as she liked and he meant to do the same. He quite forgot that Elizabeth had sought the good-will of her subjects, who obeyed her because she did what they wanted to be done.

2. The minister whom Charles trusted to govern the Church was Laud, Bishop of London, who, in 1633, was made Archbishop of Canterbury. Laud was the leader of the High-church party, whom the Commons had wished to put to silence. He was a little man, very active, and very earnest, but without pity for those who did not think as he did or do as he told them. He had a good deal of learning, and was willing to let learned men hold opinions of their own ; but he despised the people too much to think that they could judge for themselves what was true or false in religion. Laud also was in favour of forms and ceremonies. He did not like that each man should do what was right in his own eyes. All must do alike. Each minister must bow his head when he read the name of Jesus. None must take the sacrament sitting, as many men then did, but each

man on his knees. Ministers and congregations must be encouraged to adorn their churches with painted windows, images, and crosses, to set up altars and perform ceremonies for long unknown in Protestant England.

3. The Calvinists thought very differently from Laud. It did not seem to them that the meanest man, woman, or child was too ignorant to understand all that had to do with his happiness or misery in another world. They disliked ceremonies, and would as soon have worshipped in a barn as in a cathedral. God, they said, did not live in temples made with hands. His temple was the heart of the worshipper. They did not care about order, nor could the service be too simple to please them.

The views
of the
Calvinists.

4. It became common to call all persons Puritans who did not like the changes which Laud and his friends were bringing in. Many more people, therefore, were now called Puritans than in the time of James I. They were of all classes—gentlemen, farmers, and artisans. They were remarkable for living a serious and quiet life, setting their faces against the fashionable vices of their day—drinking, swearing, and gambling. Amongst the Puritans were found men who held very strict notions of the kind of life they ought to lead. They saw sin and vice mixed up with the amusements and pleasures of the world, so they called all pleasures and amusements sinful. They dressed in plain black clothes, and cut their hair short, to mark themselves distinct from the men of the world, who dressed gaily in velvets, and lace, and satin. They went too far in what they thought they ought to do, and judged other men too hardly; but they were quite honest, and ready to suffer much rather than do anything which they thought wrong.

Calvinists
called Puri-
tans.

We have seen what different opinions Laud and the

Puritans held. The Puritans looked on Laud as little else than a Papist in disguise. Laud looked on the Puritans as men who disturbed the peace of the Church. Now that the Parliament was gone he was master, and he set to work to model churches, services, ministers and worshippers all after his own plan.

5. Laud had means by which he was able to force the Puritans to do as he wished. The Act of Supremacy, passed in 1558, made Queen Elizabeth chief ruler of the Church of England in place of the Pope. It also gave her power to set up commissioners for the punishment of those who separated from the Church. These commissioners formed what was called the Court of High Commission. They now turned out of his living the minister who did not bow when he read the name of Jesus, or preached on forbidden doctrines. The layman who kept his hat on in church, or would not take the sacrament on his knees, they fined, or perhaps put in prison. A second court punished more severely than the High Commission. It was called the Star Chamber, because the walls of the room at Westminster in which it sat were painted with stars. This court had been set up in the reign of Henry VII. to try men who were too powerful to be brought to trial in the other courts. Its powers were now turned against the Puritans or any others who, by anything they said, or did, or wrote, displeased the king and his ministers. The judges were the king's ministers, Laud himself being one of them. Men were fined by the Star Chamber, or put in prison, or whipped through the streets, or branded with hot irons, or their ears were cut off. When these sentences were carried out, the people, who thought the sufferers were in the right, and felt great pity for them, would stain handkerchiefs in their blood as in the blood of martyrs.

Courts of
High Com-
mission
and Star
Chamber.

6. When the Puritans saw how strange ceremonies were brought into the services of the English Church, and how the king no longer called together Parliaments, they thought that the Catholic faith would be set up in England, and that the old liberties of Englishmen would be taken away by the king. So many thousands sailed across the Atlantic to the coast of North America. There they settled in a land which they called 'New England,' where they governed themselves and worshipped God in their own way.

Puritans in
New Eng-
land.

CHAPTER III.

SIR THOMAS WENTWORTH.

1. BESIDES Laud, Charles had another councillor whom he trusted. This was Sir Thomas Wentworth, now Lord Wentworth, and afterwards Earl of Strafford. Sir Thomas Wentworth was a tall, dark man, with a commanding voice and manner. In 1628 he had joined with Eliot in getting the king to give his consent to the Petition of Right, because he thought Buckingham ruled very badly. But since Buckingham's death he had himself become a minister of the king, and now his chief desire was to make Charles powerful in all things, and free him from his subjects' control. Wentworth had a great belief in himself and in his own wisdom, and looked down upon the members of the House of Commons, thinking that if the king always had to follow their wishes, the country would never be well or wisely ruled. As to Parliaments, Wentworth did not wish to do away with them; they might in an humble manner lay their wishes before the king, but they were not to make their grants of money depend on getting what they wanted. Until the gentle-

Sir Thomas
Wentworth.

men of England should have learned to obey, Wentworth did not counsel Charles to call a Parliament together.

2. Now Wentworth was proud and would have his own way; and he did many harsh and unjust acts in carrying out his ends. So he was soon much hated by the people. Neither was he liked by his fellow ministers and men at the king's court. For he set his face against those who wasted the king's money, and left the king poor while they themselves grew rich. Wentworth, however, did not stay long in England. In 1633 he went to Ireland to rule that country as Lord Deputy. There it was more easy for him to get men to yield to him than in England; for the native population of Irish Catholics and the English and Scottish Protestants, who had settled in Ireland, hated one another, and did not wish for the same things, so that they could not act together as Englishmen did. Moreover in Ireland Wentworth acted as king in place of Charles, and thus he had more power in his hands than in England. He did not let his officers take the king's money. He kept strict order throughout the country, and did not let the rich man wrong the poor man. He even called a Parliament and got a grant of money. But the people, though they could not resist the deputy, yet hated him. For he broke his faith with the Parliament, ill-treated those who offended him, and cared not how unjustly or harshly he acted, so long as he made all men obey his will.

3. While Wentworth was trying to make the power of the king greater than it had ever been before, Eliot was standing up in the cause of the Parliament. He and some of his friends were accused by Charles of having caused a riot in the House of Commons on the day when the Speaker was held down in his chair. The judges said that they must pay fines and stay in prison so long as it should please the king. One by one, as they

owned their fault and prayed for pardon, Charles let them be set at liberty. But Eliot would not give way. A future Parliament alone, he said, could judge whether anything he had said or done had been to blame. The judges had no right to meddle in the matter; for if members could be brought to punishment by the king for what they said or did within Parliament House they would be afraid to say what they really thought. Then Parliaments would soon cease to be free, and would be no longer able to stand against the king, if he ruled contrary to the laws and liberties of the country.

After Eliot had been a prisoner in the Tower about three years (1629-1632) he fell very ill, and sent to the king asking that he might be set at liberty until he got back his health. But Charles chose that the man who would not give way should die, and not long afterwards Eliot died in the Tower (1632).

CHAPTER IV.

SHIP MONEY AND THE TRIAL OF HAMPDEN, 1634-1640.

1. CHARLES had no money with which to build ships to protect the coasts. So pirates did much harm to trade, while the Turks, from Algiers in Africa, used yearly to carry off hundreds of fishermen as slaves. Charles wished to put an end to this state of things. He was also thinking of joining Spain in making war on France. His difficulty was to get money for raising a navy, without calling a parliament. In times *Ship money.* of danger, as for instance when the Armada sailed against England, the king had called on the port towns to send him vessels for defence of the kingdom. Charles thought he could not do better than follow this example (1634).

Afterwards he went farther and did what former kings had not done. Every year he made every county of England and Wales give him money, called ship-money, for raising a navy, for guard of the seas.

2. Men paid the new tax very unwillingly, because there was no real or sudden danger which made it needful for the king to take money without first asking leave of Parliament. One of those who would not pay was John Hampden, a gentleman of Buckinghamshire. The case Trial of Hampden. between him and the king was tried before the twelve judges at Westminster. Two of them said boldly that many Acts of Parliament, and, above all, the Petition of Right, had taken away from the king the power of raising taxes without consent of Parliament. But others said that Acts of Parliament could not bind the king, and that, therefore, when he thought it needful, he might take taxes at his pleasure. As seven judges were for the king and only five for Hampden, ship money was thus declared to be a lawful tax (1638).

3. The king had always had rights and powers of his own, which lawyers called his royal prerogative. But The prerogative set above the law. until now the right to set aside Acts of Parliament, whenever he thought it needful to do so, had not been counted one of them. No one would have said so in the days of Elizabeth. The notion had grown up by degrees, under the rule of James and Charles. The High-churchmen said that kings had their power from God, and that their power was above Acts of Parliament, just as divine things are above human things. Lawyers, who looked to the king to give them places, said the same kind of things in courts of law, and thus at last the judges laid it down as part of the law that no Acts of Parliament could bind the king. Henceforth, therefore, Charles could set aside the laws if he thought it needful.

The people saw clearly that this view of the judges put an end to their liberties, and they would not pay it any respect. The judges, they said, had explained the law wrongly, and given false judgment to please the king. There was much reason in what the people said. Charles had the power of placing judges in office and turning them out of office at his pleasure. He had set up as judges men who thought as he did himself, and the people did not trust them.

4. We have seen that England was discontented ; we have seen also that Ireland was discontented. We must now look at Scotland and see what was passing there. Laud wished to change the Church of Scotland and make it like the Church of England. He did not heed that the Scots did not like the Church to be ruled by bishops and looked on many of the ceremonies in use in the English Church as superstitions. Rebellion in Scotland. On the day when a prayer-book, like the English prayer-book, was ordered to be read in all churches in Scotland, a riot broke out in Edinburgh (1637). Soon the whole country rose against the changes, and the people began to arm to force the king to give way to their wishes. If Charles had had plenty of money, and even a small standing army, he might have put down the Scots. But he had no money, while his soldiers were only peasants and artisans who were pressed into his service. These looked on the Scots as friends, for, like them, they hated Laud. They killed their officers if they thought them to be Catholics, and ran away by hundreds. In the spring of 1640, Charles called a Parliament, and dissolved it in three weeks, because it would not give him money at once. The same year the Scots crossed the border and marched into Yorkshire. Charles was there with an army ; but it was an army of unwilling soldiers who did not care to fight. The Scots and the English knew that

their cause was one, so they both began to call on the king to summon a Parliament in England. Charles had to give way, and in November, 1640, the Long Parliament met.

BOOK IV.

1640-1649.

THE LONG PARLIAMENT AND THE CIVIL WAR.

CHAPTER I.

THE TRIAL OF STRAFFORD, 1640-1641.

1. THE Long Parliament is one of the most celebrated of all Parliaments which have ever met in England. It was the turning point of Charles' reign. Up to this time he had been growing stronger; but this Parliament broke the king's power, so that it was never again what it had been before, and from this time forward no king could set aside the laws as Charles had done.

2. After the rebellion broke out in Scotland, Wentworth came back to England, and Charles made him Earl of Strafford. Strafford knew that his friends were few and his foes many, so he thought that it would be better if he stayed away from London at the opening of Parliament. But Charles did not like to be without his minister's help. He therefore bade Strafford come, saying that 'as he was king of England, the Parliament should not touch a hair of his head.' So Strafford came to stand by his master and help him to keep the members of the Parliament in due awe.

The Long
Parliament.

Impeach-
ment of
Strafford.

But the members very well knew that they had no enemy so able and so dangerous as Strafford. On the day after he came to London the House of Commons went in a body to the House of Lords, and there impeached him of high treason. His trial in Westminster Hall lasted many days. The members of the House of Lords were there as judges, and the members of the Commons as accusers. The king and queen sat apart in a little gallery with a curtain in front of it, but the king with his own hand tore down the curtain, that he might the better hear and see what passed beneath.

Strafford was accused of having tried to destroy the laws and liberties of his country, and of having been an enemy to Parliaments, and having done many things contrary to the law both in Ireland and in England, and for these offences he was charged with high treason. Strafford defended himself very ably, but it was not possible that he should defend himself so as to satisfy his accusers. They had no pity for him. For he had been Charles' chief adviser while Charles ruled without Parliaments, and while many cruel and unjust acts were done in Charles' name. For this the Commons wished to put him to death, that others might learn not to do like him.

3. The Commons were fearful lest Charles should find some way of getting Strafford out of the Tower, and saving his life. So, to hasten on his death, they passed a bill through their House which condemned ^{Bill of} ~~him to die as a traitor.~~ ^{Attainder.} Such bills, condemning men to die, were called Bills of *Attainder*, because every traitor or felon, against whom sentence of death is pronounced, is said to be attainted, or stained. The bill which attainted Strafford was sent to the House of Lords, where it was passed also; for it was easier to pass a bill declaring Strafford to be a traitor than to go on sitting as judges over his acts one by one. The king's consent

was still needful to make the bill law. Charles felt that he would be doing an evil deed if he took part in Strafford's death, for he believed that in all things Strafford had served him well and faithfully. But he was in great fear and misery, and knew not what to do. An angry crowd gathered round the palace at Whitehall, shouting for justice on traitors. His wife, frightened at the noise, pressed him to pass the bill. His councillors told him it was his duty to please his Parliament. There came a letter to him from Strafford himself, bidding him no longer delay to make his peace with his people. 'Sire,' it said, 'my consent shall more acquit you herein to God than all the world can do beside. To a willing man there is no injury done.' So Charles gave his consent to the bill; but when this was told to Strafford he exclaimed, 'Put not your trust in princes nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation.' He was beheaded the next day (1641).

4 The Parliament wished to take from Charles the means of ever ruling again as he had ruled while Strafford was his minister. So they got him to consent to many new laws, of which these were the chief:—

New law (1). The Triennial Act, requiring that a new Parliament should meet at least once every three years, and that if the king did not call a Parliament together, still the members should be elected, and the Parliament meet all the same.

(2). An act forbidding the king to take customs duties without consent of Parliament.

(3). An act saying that the raising of ship money was contrary to the laws and liberties of the kingdom and the Petition of Right, and that the judgment given in Hampden's case was against the law.

(4). An act doing away with the Court of Star Chamber.

(5). An act doing away with the Court of High Commission.

5. Laud, like Strafford, was impeached of high treason, and, though not brought to trial, was kept a prisoner in the Tower. His work was undone, as far as Puritans in power. might be. Forms and ceremonies in public worship were again neglected; crucifixes, images, and other ornaments were torn down from churches and often broken to pieces. Nor did the desire of change stop merely at undoing what Laud had done. The bishops had made such a harsh use of their power, that many Puritans now wished to do away with bishops altogether, and to set up in their stead assemblies of ministers and elders to rule the Church. These Presbyterians were very numerous in London and other towns, and many members of Parliament were on their side. Still it was very doubtful whether they would be able to get what they wanted, for there were many who thought that enough had been done, and did not wish for further change.

CHAPTER II.

THE GRAND REMONSTRANCE, AND IMPEACHMENT OF THE FIVE MEMBERS. (1641-1642.)

1. IF Charles kept the new laws faithfully, he could never rule again as he had ruled before. He would have to meet Parliament regularly. He would have to get money only with the consent of the House The plans of Charles. of Commons. There would be no High Commission and no Star Chamber to put down men who found fault with what he did. In short Charles would have to rule as the House of Commons wished.

Charles, though he had passed the new laws, did not

mean to follow the wishes of the House of Commons. He might perhaps keep the laws until they stood in his way; then he would find some means of setting them aside, just as he had set aside the Petition of Right. His wish in the first place was to get rid of the present Parliament. He could not dissolve it at his own will. At the time of Strafford's trial he had agreed to a plan to bring up armed men to London, who would set Strafford free and keep the Parliament in order. This plan had become known to the Parliament, which got Charles to consent to a law, saying that this Parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent. Charles was now at a loss how to get the Parliament to dissolve itself. Sometimes he thought of making the leaders of the Commons his ministers, in the hope that they would help him to bring about a dissolution; but when he found that, even if he made them his ministers, they yet would never obey his will, he made up his mind to accuse them of treason. For when its leaders were in prison, or dead, he hoped to be able easily to rid himself of the Parliament, and get again all the power which he had lost.

2. John Pym was looked up to as the chief leader of the House of Commons. He had sat in many Parliaments, and was now more than fifty years old. John Pym. He had a strong head and a strong body, and could work, if needful, all the day and half the night as well. He spoke well, so that men listened eagerly to his words and believed in them. In time of danger he was never frightened, but always saw the best course to take and how best to calm the fears of others.

Pym knew well that dangers were soon to come, for, though he could not tell exactly what the king's plans were, he felt sure that by force or fraud Charles would undo all that Parliament had done, unless some way were found to prevent him. So Pym wished that councillors,

judges, and all officers of state should be set up by the Parliament and not by the king. Then these would be men whom the Parliament could trust, and though they would still rule in the name of the king they would follow the wishes of the House of Commons.

3. A party friendly to the king was forming both in the Parliament and amongst the people. Some men thought that Charles would keep faithfully the laws which he had passed, whilst others were against the changes which the Presbyterians wanted to make in the Church. So all these stood together in opposing Pym.

A Royalist party.

4. In the summer of 1641 Charles went to Scotland and gave the Scots all they asked for, thinking that when Scotland was quiet and content he should better be able to carry out his plans in England. While he was still away, terrible tidings came from Ireland. The Irish Catholics had risen in arms and killed the Protestant settlers men, women, and children. Many men in England thought that Charles had been seeking friends in Ireland amongst the Catholics, and had had a hand in this rising, so now they were more fearful of trusting him than before.

Rebellion in Ireland.

5. Pym sought a way of telling the nation that no faith could be placed in Charles. A long remonstrance, called the Grand Remonstrance, was brought into the House of Commons. This drew a black picture of Charles' government since he first came to the throne. Then it told of the good laws which the Parliament had made, and said that henceforth the king's ministers must be men in whom the Parliament could trust. There was much talk in the House of Commons between the friends of Charles and the followers of Pym about the passing of this remonstrance. Parliament used then to sit only in the day-time; but they talked about

The Grand Remonstrance.

the remonstrance till past midnight. When at last the remonstrance was passed, a member asked that it should be printed, and thus put into the hands of the people. When the king's friends answered him angrily, words ran very high, and sword hilts were handled. Hampden spoke a few words which calmed the tumult, and the House broke up for that time (November, 1641); but afterwards the remonstrance was printed, and the people were thus told that the Commons had no trust in the king.

6. When Charles came back to London, there gathered round him at Whitehall some five hundred gentlemen as a guard to his person. The Parliament had a guard of London citizens, which the king took away. The Commons felt fearful of danger, so they asked the king to let them have their guard back again. Charles would not do this, but told them that their safety was as much his care as the safety of his children. The same day the king's law officer, the Attorney-General, came into the House of Lords, and impeached of high treason one member of the Lords and five members of the Commons, including Pym and Hampden. Lords and Commons alike refused to give up the accused members. The next morning there was a stir and bustle at Whitehall, where the king's guard were arming and collecting together, for the king was about to march to the House of Commons and take the five members out by force. The queen urged him on. 'Go, coward,' said she, 'pull those rogues out by the ears!' A friend brought the tidings in haste to the Commons, and the five members left their seats and fled to the city of London, just a few minutes before Charles came. Charles left his guard at the door, walked up the House, and asked Lenthall, the Speaker of the House, where the accused members were. Lenthall fell on his

Impeachment of the five members.

knees, and said, 'May it please your Majesty, I have neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak in this place, but as the House is pleased to command me.' The king first looked round the House, and then said, 'Well, since I see all the birds are flown, I expect from you that you shall send them unto me as soon as they return hither, otherwise I must take my own course to find them.' He then left the House, and went back to Whitehall with his guard (January, 1642).

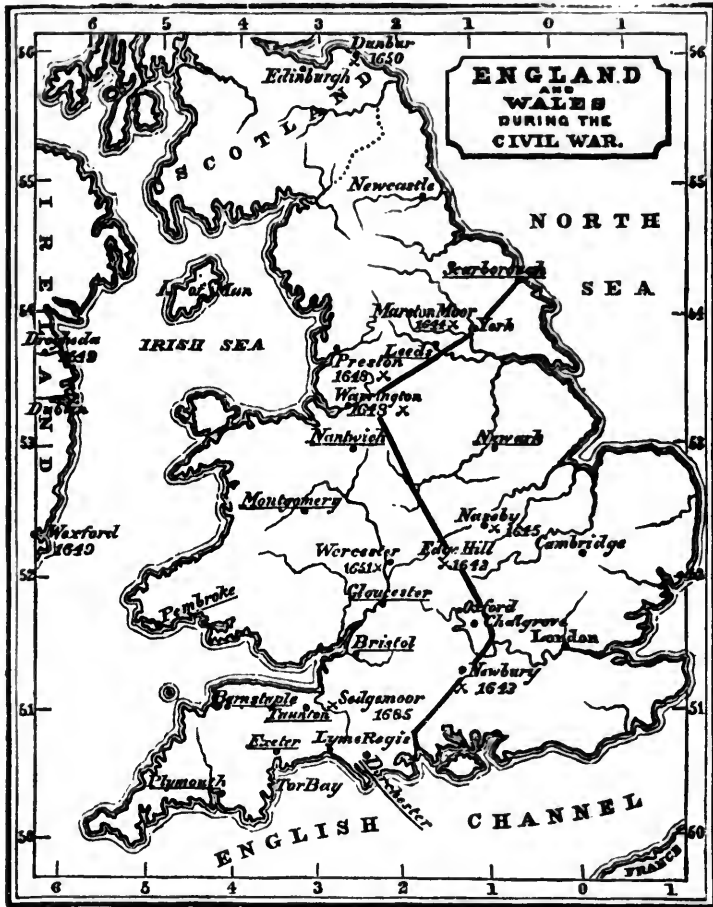
CHAPTER III.

THE CIVIL WAR. (1642-1646.)

I. AFTER the failure of his attempt to seize the five members Charles left London, meaning to get rid of the Parliament by force of arms. Though there was no standing army in England, every county had its militia, which could be called out in times of danger. The officers of this force were set up by the king. Pym and his friends had no longer any faith whatever in Charles, so, to take from him the means of doing harm, they asked that Parliament should henceforth set up the officers of the militia and all ministers of state. Charles refused, and war began between the king and the Parliament in the summer of 1642. Those joined the king who thought that the Parliament was unfairly trying to get power into its hands. Those joined the Parliament who would no longer trust Charles. Friends of the bishops were on the king's side; Presbyterians on the side of the Parliament. The citizens of London were Presbyterians, and firm friends to the Parliament. This was very important, because London was by far the largest and wealthiest city in England, and so was able to

Royalists
and Parli-
amentarians.

find plenty of money with which to pay the Parliament's armies. Noblemen generally fought for the king, farmers and artisans for the Parliament. The king made Oxford



his head-quarters. In the west of England men were mostly on the king's side ; in the east, they were mostly on the side of the Parliament.

The line across the map divides the country which

was for the king from the country which was for the Parliament. In those counties through which the line runs there was a great deal of fighting, as well as in Devon, Somerset, and Wiltshire, where the Parliament had garrisons in many towns. The first pitched battle was fought at Edgehill, in Warwickshire (October, 1642). Both sides claimed a victory. In 1643 the Royalists gained many successes. This was in great part owing to the dash and daring of their horsemen. These were country gentlemen and their sons, who took a pride in their horses, their arms, and the cause for which they fought. The people called them 'Cavaliers.' Their leader was Prince Rupert, Charles' nephew, the son of that Prince Frederic of the Palatinate, for whom men wanted James to fight when he was driven from his lands. The Parliament's horse-soldiers were not so good, for they were mostly shopkeepers who were not used to riding, or farmers mounted on horses fresh from the plough, which took fright at the sound of a pistol shot. The Parliament's troops were nicknamed 'Roundheads,' perhaps because they wore their hair short, while the Cavaliers wore theirs long.

2. In the spring of 1643 the Parliament held all the towns in the west of England which have a line under them in the map. But during the summer and autumn Charles took most of these, besides Newark and other places on the Parliament's side of the line, so that men thought that he would be able to march on London. Gloucester, however, still held out bravely, and while Charles was besieging it, the Parliament got an army together and sent it into the west under the Earl of Essex. Essex raised the siege of Gloucester, and afterwards met and fought Charles at Newbury, in Berkshire, and so stopped his way to London. Meanwhile Pym was persuading the Scots to join the side of the Parliament.

Solemn
League and
Covenant.

The Scots wished to see a Presbyterian Church like their own set up in England. They therefore agreed to send an army to fight against the king, on condition that the three Churches in England, Ireland, and Scotland, should have the same prayer-book, and be governed in the same way. This treaty was called the Solemn League and Covenant.

3. Pym died in December, 1643, a little before the Scottish army came into England. Hampden, who was a
Death of Pym and Hampden. colonel in the Parliamentary army, had died a few months earlier of a wound received in a skirmish fought at Chalgrove, not far from his own home at the village of Hampden, in Buckinghamshire.

4. When the war first broke out those members of Parliament who did not wish to do away with bishops
Aims of the Presbyterians. took the king's side and left London. After they were gone the Presbyterians had much more power in Parliament than before. They wanted to set up assemblies of ministers and elders in place of bishops. They wanted further to force everyone to think as they did about religion, to worship as they did, and to obey their Church Assemblies. If they could have had their own way, they would have shown themselves quite as much bent on making others do as they did as Laud had been, and perhaps as cruel. The old archbishop got no mercy from them. After being kept a prisoner for four years he was put to death as a traitor.

5. As it happened, however, it was not easy for the Presbyterians to have everything their own way. For
Aims of the Sectarians. there was a party amongst their own friends who did not care about setting up a Presbyterian Church in England, and the longer the war lasted the stronger this party grew. They were called Independents. They said that each separate congregation

ought to be left to worship as it pleased, and to settle its own affairs by itself, without being meddled with either by bishops, or assemblies of elders, or any other power whatever. The Independents were often called *Sectarians* because they were divided into *sects*, each sect holding some special doctrine of its own. Thus there were the Anabaptists who did not baptize infants, and the Quakers who thought it wrong to take oaths. Now, what we have to notice more especially about these Independents and Sectarians is that they had got a real idea of *toleration*, that is, of letting other men hold their own opinions instead of trying to force everyone else to think and do as they thought and did themselves. Thus they said to the Presbyterians: have your Presbyterian Church if you will, only keep it to yourselves, and leave us free to worship as we will and teach our own doctrines.

As far back as the time of Elizabeth Sectarians had been heard of. But then they had been few in number, poor, and looked down upon. Now, in these times of war and change, many men became Sectarians. Artisans in those towns where wool—then the chief article of manufacture in England—was woven into cloth were Sectarians. So, too, were small farmers, who owned land of their own, of whom there were then many in England. These Sectarians were not like other folk; they were more earnest men, and lived even more serious lives than did the Puritans, whom we have spoken about before. They knew their Bibles almost by heart, and often preached themselves, for they made no difference between ministers and laymen.

6. The leader of the Independents in the House of Commons was Oliver Cromwell, a gentleman of Cambridgeshire. Cromwell always had his heart set on what he was about, and wished to do his work as well as possible. Pym's plan of bringing the war to an end was to call

in the Scots; but Cromwell had another plan of his own. 'Your troops,' he said one day to his cousin, John Hampden, 'are most of them old, decayed serving-men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honour and courage in them? You must get men of a spirit, and take it not ill what I say—I know you will not—of a spirit that is likely to go as far as gentlemen will go, or else you will be beaten still.' Cromwell's home was in the eastern counties, where there were many manufacturing towns, and where small farmers were more in number than in other parts of England. So he set about to find the men he wanted amongst Sectarians, and his horse-soldiers were soon known as the best troops in the army. They were called the Ironsides. At first Cromwell was only a captain; but in 1644 he was made lieutenant-general of a new army, which he had mainly raised himself in the eastern counties. We have next to see what this army did.

7. There was a great battle fought late one July evening, in the year 1644, on Marston Moor, a few miles west of York. The Scottish army was there, and Cromwell's army, besides other forces of the Parliament. The Royalist right wing was led by Prince Rupert. On every battle-field up to this time his Cavaliers had scattered the Parliament's horse before them. Opposite to Rupert was set the army from the eastern counties and a body of Scottish horse. It was seven o'clock before the armies joined battle. Rupert at the head of a body of Cavaliers charged Cromwell's own troop of three hundred horse. A shot grazed Cromwell's neck. 'A miss is as good as a mile,' he cried, and pressing on broke through the ranks of the enemy. Soon Rupert's whole wing, horse and foot, was in full flight,

Cromwell
and the
Ironsides.

Battle of
Marston
Moor.

and the Ironsides hard in chase of the Cavaliers. After a space Cromwell called his men together, turned back, and fell on the Royalist centre and left wing in the rear. These had been beating back the centre and right wing of the Parliament's army, but now, with foes in front and behind, they were broken, routed, and cut down in their flight all the way to York. This was a great victory, for it destroyed a large army of the king's, and brought all the north country under the power of the Parliament.

8. A few months after this battle was fought a great thing was done at London. Parliament now thought it good that the Earl of Essex and other Presbyterian generals should make way for more able and active men. Henceforth there was to be but one army. Sir Thomas Fairfax, a friend of Cromwell, was made by Parliament commander-in-chief. He was a spirited and honourable gentleman, loved by his soldiers. Cromwell himself was lieutenant-general. So from this time the army became the army of the Independents. All drunken, lazy, plundering soldiers were turned away, and the ranks were filled with Sectarians, who fought to win for themselves the right to worship in their own way.

The New
Model
army.

9. In June, 1645, this New Model army, as it was called, met the Royalists, led by Charles, near Naseby, a village in Northamptonshire. In both armies the horse were on the wings and the foot soldiers drawn up in the centre. Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers, who were on the right of Charles' army, beat back the enemy's horse that was set against them, and then, as was their wont, rode off the field, chasing the fugitives or looking after plunder. Meanwhile, on the other side of the battle-field, Cromwell and the Ironsides, having first routed Charles' left wing of horse, turned and fell upon

Battle of
Naseby.

the flank of his centre. Up to this time the foot soldiers on neither side had given way. But now the king's men, charged by the enemy in front and flank, were at last broken and turned to flight. Rupert came back only to see his friends beaten. 'Face about once,' Charles cried; 'give one charge more and recover the day;' but he could no longer get his men to rally, and so had to join the flight. After this battle the war was soon brought to an end, for many Royalists were killed and many taken prisoners, and Charles could never again get a large army together. Fairfax led his troops into the west, and forced one Royalist garrison to surrender after another. Charles, rather than give himself up to the Parliament, sought a refuge with the Scottish army (April, 1646).

CHAPTER IV.

THE ARMY AND THE PARLIAMENT. (1646-1649.)

1. CHARLES had been fairly beaten, still he had no thought of giving way and consenting to rule on his enemies' terms. He would not agree to let the Parliament set up officers of the militia and ministers of state. He would not promise the Presbyterians to set up a Presbyterian Church in England; he would not promise the soldiers to let Sectarians have freedom to worship in their own way. His plan was to spend time talking over terms; meanwhile to stir up the dislike which the Presbyterians felt to the Independents, to get them to fight one another, and while they fought he hoped that he should get back all he had lost.

2. When the Scots found that Charles would not agree to set up a Presbyterian Church in England, they gave him

up to the English Parliament, and went back to their own country (January, 1647). Many months went by, while the Parliament and the army officers and the king talked over terms. Possibly, if

Second civil war.

Charles had been honest, some agreement might have been come to. But all the time he was really wishing to get the two parties to fight one another. More than once the citizens of London and the soldiers nearly came to blows. At last Charles managed to call in the Scots. The Scots were angry because the Independents had got so much power in England. So they agreed to bring an army into England to fight for Charles, and Charles in return promised them that he would set up a Presbyterian Church in England for three years, and would not let Sectarians worship in their own way.

The Scots marched into England in the spring of 1648, and the English Royalists rose at the same time. But this new war did not last many months. Cromwell gave the Scots two great defeats at Preston and Warrington in Lancashire (August, 1648). Fairfax put down the Royalists.

The soldiers came back to London bent on putting Charles to death, for they thought that he was a bad, deceitful man, and that so long as he lived he would be always plotting to get back his lost power and stirring up new wars. Kings, they said, had their power from the people; if they used it ill the people could take it away from them, and punish them for their evil deeds.

3. In the Parliament the Presbyterians were more in number than the Independents and other friends of the army. They still looked on Charles as their lawful king, whose throne and life were sacred. So they were horrified at the thought of putting him to death. The soldiers, however, meant to put out of the House of Commons those who would not do as they

Pride's
purge.

wanted, for they desired to act not in their own name, but in the name of the Parliament. An officer, Colonel Pride, set soldiers at the door of the Commons House, and roughly turned away more than a hundred Presbyterians. These days were henceforth known as the days of Pride's purge. Some fifty-three members only were left, who named 135 persons to form a high court of justice and try the king as guilty of treason.

4. The trial from first to last had only a form of justice, by which the soldiers hid from themselves the violence

The king's
trial and
death.

of what they were doing. They might just as well have shot Charles without giving him any trial, as have turned a hundred members out of the House of Commons. When Charles came before the court, Westminster Hall was thronged with people weeping and praying for him. He would not speak a word in his own defence, saying truly enough that the court had no right to try him in the name of the people of England, because the people of England had not set it up. Some of the friends of the army would sooner have seen Charles put away from being king, than put to death. Of the 135 members of the court, only sixty-three were there. Cromwell was one of them, but Fairfax stayed away. When his name was called, a woman's voice—it was his wife's—called out, 'He is not here and never will be; you do wrong to name him.' Charles was beheaded on a scaffold built in the open street, outside the palace of Whitehall (Jan. 1649.) He met his death very calmly and quietly, for he believed that he died in a good cause, and that he had been right even in practising deceit to get back his crown. It was just that practice of deceit, however, which made the soldiers put him to death. The people pitied the fate of their king, and from the moment of his death forgave the things that he had done which once had angered them.

BOOK V.

1649-1660.

*THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE
PROTECTORATE.*

CHAPTER I.

THE COMMONWEALTH. (1649-1653.)

I. THE fifty or sixty members who still sat in the House of Commons now did away with the House of Lords, and called the government a Commonwealth. They had many enemies. In England, as well as in Ireland and Scotland, men grieved that the king had been put to death, and would now have liked to place on the throne his eldest son, a second Charles, who had fled to the Continent for safety. He could not be set up in England as king, for the army would have no king. But in Ireland Protestants and Catholics joined together in sending for Prince Charles to come amongst them. While he was still on his way, Cromwell went to Ireland with an army. He took by storm the two towns of Drogheda and Wexford, and slew all the fighting men who were in them. After this he got the greater part of Ireland under his power and then came back to England (May, 1650). Charles had changed his mind when he heard what was being done in Ireland, and had gone instead to Scotland, where the Scots took him to be their king. Fairfax did not care to fight the Scots, so Cromwell was made general in his place. He marched into Scotland, and in the autumn gained a great victory near Dunbar (September, 1650). The next year Charles marched into England, leaving Crom-

Conquest of
Ireland and
Scotland.

well behind him in Scotland. He hoped that the people would rise in arms to fight for him. But they did not do so because they were weary of civil war, and did not believe that he would be able to beat Cromwell. Meanwhile Cromwell followed him close, and surrounded him in Worcester by double his numbers. The battle raged on two sides of the town at once. The Scots fought bravely, but in the end the English forced their way into the streets, cut down the Scots by hundreds, and utterly defeated them (September, 1651). Charles had to ride hard for his life. He reached the house of a Catholic gentleman, cut off his long hair, put on peasant's clothes, and hid himself for a whole day amid the branches of a large oak, whence he saw the soldiers pass by who were searching about for himself. After running many risks he reached the coast of Sussex, and found a vessel which bore him in safety to France.

Standing armies were now kept up both in Ireland and Scotland, so that these two countries had to submit in all things to the will of their conquerors.

2. The officers of the army and the members of the Commons both wished to set up a just and good government, in which the people should share by electing members of Parliament at stated times. But they could not agree what was the right thing to be done. The Commons said that they must go on ruling until the people had got to be wiser than to wish for a Stuart king. Cromwell and his fellow-officers said that this House ought to dissolve itself, and make way for an entirely new assembly. They thought that it had sat too long already, and had too much power in its hands. The members ruled free of all control, for there was none who had a right to call them to answer for what they did; and though many of them acted honourably and justly, yet the House as a body did not use its powers well.

The officers
and the
Commons
disagree.

Heavy taxes were raised and the money was wasted, and many harsh and unjust acts were done.

3. As the Commons would not dissolve themselves, Cromwell took a guard of soldiers and went to Parliament House one day in April, 1653. He left the soldiers outside, but came himself into the House. At first he praised the members, but as he spoke he got angry and excited, and soon began charging them with injustice, self-seeking, and other faults. The members angrily interrupted him. 'The Lord hath done with you,' he cried; 'I tell you, you are no Parliament, you must give place to better men.' Then he called in the soldiers to turn the members out by force, if they would not go of themselves. 'What shall we do with this bauble?' he said, taking up the mace which lay on the table of the House of Commons; and then handing it to a soldier said, 'Take it away.' After this the members left the House, reproaching Cromwell as they went.

The Long
Parliament
turned out.

4. The same year Cromwell and the officers called together an assembly of 165 persons, which was nicknamed Barebone's Parliament, from the name of one of the members, Praise God Barebone, a leather-seller in Fleet Street. Most of the members were Sectarians. They wanted, as did many of the soldiers, to make changes in the laws and customs of the country. Their fault was that they tried to do more than then could be done, and to destroy rather than to mend. Some of the members themselves were against the changes which their companions were making, and after a short time the House gave back its powers into the hands of Cromwell (December, 1653).

Barebone's
Parliament.

CHAPTER II.

THE PROTECTORATE. (1653-1658.)

I. INDEPENDENTS, officers, and other late friends of the Commonwealth, now agreed in thinking that the only way to set up a good and settled government was to make Cromwell ruler. So, in December, 1653, Cromwell, already general of the army, became head of the State also, with the title of Protector. He agreed to keep the laws and to call Parliaments regularly.

2. Cromwell was of middle height, his features were rough, and his skin tanned brown by wind and weather.

Cromwell's character and aims. He was a man of strong feelings, very loving to his wife and children, easily made angry at the sight of wrong or injustice, believing all that he believed down to the very bottom of his soul. He seemed by nature born to rule. He knew how to make himself obeyed and feared; he knew also how to win men's trust and love. He was not easily deceived for he quickly read the minds of others. Though eager to set right what he thought to be amiss, he was never carried away by his zeal, for he saw that changes could not last unless the people themselves wished for them. As a ruler, Cromwell set before him two chief aims; the one was to guard for Sectarians the right to worship in their own way and teach their own beliefs; the other was to set up a good and free government which should win the good-will of all men, even if possible of Royalists.

The Protector had not many friends. Not only were the old Royalists, and the new Royalists, the Presbyterians, against him, but he found enemies amongst men who were on the same side as himself. Thus there

were members of the Long Parliament who could not forgive him for having turned them out, but looked on him as a bad man who sought power for himself.

3. When Cromwell met his first Parliament, there was only one House, a House of Commons. He and it could not agree together, and he dissolved it without its making a single law or giving him any money (January, 1655).

Cromwell's
first Parlia-
ment.

4. After this Cromwell paid no heed to the laws, but took taxes of his own will, and set officers of the army to keep order in place of the ordinary magistrates. And, as there were many plots and conspiracies against both his life and government, he often put persons in prison without giving any reason. Indeed the Petition of Right was broken every day.

Cromwell
rules with-
out heed to
law.

5. But this was not the way in which Cromwell wished to rule. The desire of his heart was to set up a free government, in which the people should take part. So he called a second Parliament in December, 1656. To make sure that it should agree with him, he turned out of the House a hundred members, who were his enemies. Then the Parliament voted taxes and made laws. It even wished to give the Protector the title of king. Left to himself Cromwell might have taken it, for he thought the people would sooner have a king, as in old times, than a protector to reign over them. But the officers and soldiers would not hear of his doing so. They had they said fought against one king, and they would not have another. Cromwell told them that the title was a mere feather in a man's hat, and that there was no good reason for their objections; but he had to refuse the title of King, for he dared not anger his soldiers.

Cromwell's
second Parlia-
ment.

At the next meeting of this Parliament, in 1658, Cromwell let the hundred members who were before

shut out take their seats. Then he and the Parliament disagreed, and he dissolved it before it had sat three weeks.

6. Cromwell could not get the nation to support him in his place. Still as a ruler he was very successful. His hand and eye were everywhere. He crushed plots, and kept good order throughout the land. He picked out able men for his commanders, judges, and other officers. He planned wise measures for putting right what was wrong in the law and in the Church, also for setting forward education, and increasing trade. Amongst other things, he called to sit in each of his Parliaments members from Ireland and Scotland, so that England, Scotland, and Ireland were all brought together under one rule as they are today. The Protector's rule besides being wise was also just, and in the main merciful; for, though his temper was hasty, Cromwell was also generous and forgiving. His wish always was to win his enemies over to his side.

7. The Puritans, who had now been ruling in England for some twelve years, had made use of power to try and force other people to live the same serious, quiet life they liked to live themselves. The Long Parliament had shut up the theatres, and ordered actors to be whipped. Laws had been made punishing the country folk who held wrestling matches on their village green, or raised May-poles and danced round them, as had been the fashion of their fathers for centuries. No kind of game might be played on Sunday. Even Christmas-day was changed from a feast into a solemn fast. Gamblers, swearers, and drunkards were fined heavily.

The Puritans had made great changes, too, in the government and services of the Church. The office of bishop

had been done away with. The use of the common prayer-book had been made a crime. Ministers who were against these changes had been forced to leave their livings. Their places had been taken by Presbyterians and Independents, who carried on the services in a plain and simple manner. Though a true idea of letting others think and act for themselves had sprung up amongst Puritans, it was only partly carried out. Quakers and other Sectarrians might set up meeting-houses of their own, but neither Episcopalians nor Catholics were free to worship as they pleased. Cromwell, while he was protector, let Episcopalians and Catholics hold services of their own in private, but few of his party were willing to do so.

8. Thus we see that the Puritans, like Laud, could not leave others to do what they thought best for themselves. Hence they too were now much disliked by the people. Hundreds, who had The Puritans disliked disliked the changes made by Laud, disliked quite as much the changes made by them. Young folks, who had grown up since the war began, did not see why they should not choose their own kind of life. The people generally were wishing for the old form of Church service back again.

9. Still, whatever were the faults of the Puritans, they had done really good work. They had hated vice, and called on all men to do their duty, and had John Milton striven to act rightly in the every-day affairs of life. And if we would think of a Puritan such as he was at his best, we may think of John Milton. Milton was the poet of the Puritans. He was born in 1608, just eight years before Shakespeare died. From his earliest childhood he was a lover of learning, and he was a lover also of all that was beautiful in nature and in art, but most of all he loved truth and purity. He thought that

the most beautiful thing there was was a human soul kept free from sin, and that the greatest victory a man could gain was a victory over his own evil desires. When the civil war broke out Milton took part with the Long Parliament against the king. Then instead of poetry he wrote books in prose, in which he treated of the government of the Church, and other questions of that time. He found great fault with the bishops and with the Presbyterians because they would have men do as they did, and think as they thought. He also called on the Parliament to let men write and publish what they pleased. The Parliament, he said, ought not to fear because men thought new thoughts and held new beliefs, for this did but show that England, 'like a strong man after sleep,' was rousing herself to do great deeds. After Cromwell's death, when a Stuart was on the throne, Milton could no more write on questions which had to do with the government of Church or State. Then he again wrote poems. But his later poems are graver in spirit than his earlier ones, for the times he had lived through had made him a graver man, and he wrote while his friends were dying on the scaffold, and the work which they had done was being undone.

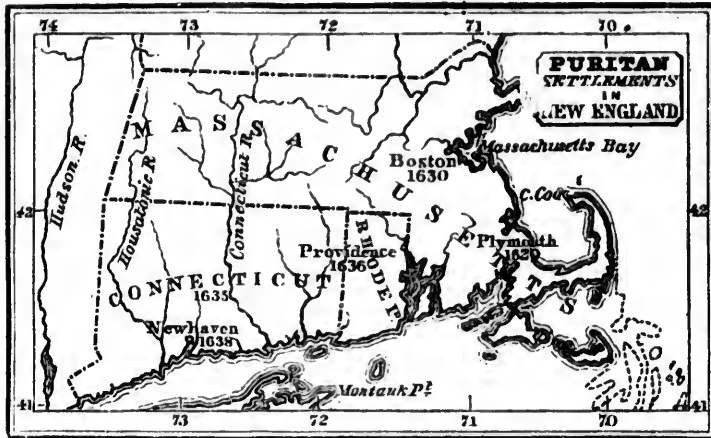
CHAPTER III.

WAR AND COMMERCE

I. DURING the first ten years of the reign of James I., English merchants made use of the new route by the Cape of Good Hope to trade with India and the East India islands. It was also during the reign of James I. that colonies were first planted on the coast of North America. The New England States were colonised by Puritans. The first comers

North
American
Colonies.

were a little band of persecuted Sectarians, who sailed in the 'May Flower' to the coast of what is now Massachusetts. They there founded a town which they called Plymouth, after the name of the last English port at which they touched (1620). After these 'Pilgrim Fathers' had cleared the way, there soon came to New England a stream of Puritan emigrants. Between the years 1629 and 1640, while Charles was ruling without Parliaments, 20,000 Englishmen sought new homes in the West.



2. The Dutch, who were a nation of seamen and traders, grew jealous at the spread of English commerce, which took place after the founding of these colonies and the opening of the trade with India. Soon after the king's death a war broke out between England and Holland, which lasted two years (1652-1653). In the end the Dutch were beaten. Cromwell, as soon as he became protector, made peace with them.

War with
Holland.

3. Foreign princes would not at first look on the men who put their king to death as lawful rulers. But after the Dutch were beaten, they began to dread the power of the English navy, and eagerly sought the friendship of England. When Cromwell was protector, he was much feared, for he had a large fleet, and a standing army, and had given proof of his wisdom and valour. In all his dealings with foreign princes Cromwell set before him the aim of doing all he could for the good of Protestants, and sometimes he was able to do a great deal. The Duke of Savoy tried by means of a cruel persecution to force the Vaudois, his Protestant subjects living in the Alpine valleys, to become Catholics. Lewis XIV., the king of France, wanted to make an alliance with England, but Cromwell would sign no treaty unless Lewis first got the duke to stop the persecution. So the duke had to give way and let his subjects worship God as they chose (1655).

4. France and Spain were rival powers and often at war with one another. Cromwell took the side of France against Spain. For when he wanted the king of Spain to give Englishmen leave to trade to the West Indies and use their Bibles in his dominions, the Spanish ambassador said, that to ask these things 'was to ask his master's two eyes.' In the war which followed, the island of Jamaica was taken from Spain and turned into an English colony (1655). In 1657 Cromwell sent 6,000 troops to help Lewis XIV. in making war in the Netherlands against the king of Spain. In return Lewis besieged Dunkirk, which was held by a Spanish garrison, and when the town surrendered made it over to England (1658).

5. Though most men would still have liked to set Prince Charles on the throne, yet they were content to submit to the Protector, because they found that he ruled

well at home, and got for their country a great name abroad. But it was now that Cromwell's rule was brought to an end by death. Soon after Dunkirk was made over by Lewis, Cromwell's health broke down. On his death-bed his thoughts ran on what would be the future of England after he was gone. 'I would be willing,' he said, 'to live to be further serviceable to God and His people, but my work is done. But God will be with His people.' He died in September, 1658, at the age of 59.

Death of
Oliver.

6. Richard Cromwell, Oliver's eldest son, became protector on his father's death. He was a good-natured young man, who meant well, but did not know how to make himself obeyed. The officers did not care for him because he was no soldier.

Richard
Cromwell
Protector.

After a few months they took power into their own hands, and called together those members of the Long Parliament who had put the king to death, and whom Oliver had turned out in 1653. The people in scorn nicknamed them the Rump. The members of the Rump soon quarrelled with the officers, and for a time the country seemed to be without any proper government at all.

7. When the people saw all these changes taking place, and the soldiers doing as they would, pulling down one government and setting up another, they became more eager than before to have Charles Stuart to reign over them. And, as it happened, General Monk, who commanded the army in Scotland, was willing to carry out their wishes, for he saw that there was no one who could rule as Oliver had ruled, and that it was not well for the soldiers to be masters in England. Monk marched from Scotland at the head of such troops as he thought he could trust. When he got to London he sent unto the House of Commons, to take their seats by the side of the members

Charles
called to
England.

of the Rump, those Presbyterians whom Colonel Pride had turned out in December 1648. These dissolved the Parliament, thus at last bringing it to an end by its own act (March, 1660). A new Parliament met, which asked Charles Stuart to come to England. The soldiers had no leader in whom they could trust, so they submitted sullenly to see Charles brought back. 'It is my own fault,' said the new king, 'that I have not come back sooner, for I find nobody who does not tell me he has always wished for my return' (May, 1660).

BOOK VI.

1660-1685.

THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.

CHAPTER I.

THE RESTORATION. (1660-1667.)

1. OLD Royalists, Presbyterians, as well as many of Oliver's supporters, had all joined together in making Charles II. king. Only the soldiers, the members of the Rump, and a few other men had stood aloof. These were not very many in number. The soldiers, however, were dangerous because they had arms in their hands and knew how to fight. So the Parliament voted a grant of money, and the whole army, excepting three regiments, was at once paid off and the soldiers were sent to their homes. Men who had taken any part in the trial and execution of Charles I. were imprisoned for life or put to death.

2. While the Puritans ruled, a sober and quiet manner

of life had been the fashion. When Charles came back a gay and careless life came into fashion. This was especially the case in London. The new king, who was fond of pleasure, led openly a bad life, and his ministers and courtiers followed his example.

Change in
manners.

3. Other changes, too, took place after the return of Charles. Only those laws to which Charles I. had given his consent were any longer held to be binding. So all the laws made by the Long Parliament by itself, or by Cromwell and his Parliaments, came to an end. England, Scotland, and Ireland again had their separate Parliaments; the bishops were again the governors of the Church, and it was again a crime to be present at any service where the common prayer-book was not used. In the Parliament which called Charles to England many Presbyterians had seats. Charles soon dissolved this Parliament and called a second. It met in 1661, and, as we shall see, was not dissolved for many years. It is called the Cavalier Parliament, because nearly all the members belonged to families who had from the first breaking out of the civil war taken the side of the king. All Puritans were hateful to them as the destroyers of their Church. So now they passed harsh laws to keep down the Puritans, and prevent them from ever again getting power into their hands. They shut Puritans out from holding offices in towns; they fined, put in prison, and even transported those who met to worship together in their own way. Ministers who would not give 'their assent and consent' to everything that was in the prayer-book, lost their livings, nor might they keep schools, or live in towns sending members to Parliament, unless they would say it was unlawful to act like the Long Parliament and take up arms against a king.

Laws
against
Puritans.

Though a dark day had come for the Puritans, their

enemies could not undo all that they had done. Their teaching, their ideas of right and wrong, were still cherished even by many who were content with the services of the established Church. Of all the writers of the Restoration, two Puritans have had the largest number of readers. It was during these years of persecution that John Bunyan, a Sectarian in prison in Bedford Gaol, wrote the 'Pilgrim's Progress'; and that Milton, now blind and old, wrote his great poems of 'Paradise Lost' and 'Paradise Regained.'

4. From this time Puritans had to give up all hope of making the Church of England their Church, as they had done under the Long Parliament and Oliver. So now Presbyterians as well as Sectarians asked for liberty to go their own way, and leave the established Church alone. Henceforth, therefore, they were no longer called Puritans but *Dissenters*, because they wished to *dissent* from the worship of the established Church, and have chapels of their own. Though the Dissenters now were persecuted, we shall see in the end how they got what they asked for.

5. Government by a king and Parliament seemed to the members of the Cavalier Parliament the best form of government possible. All the changes and sufferings which the country had gone through since 1641 they laid to the score of the Long Parliament, which had taken up arms against Charles I. But though the members were very fond of their king, they thought a great deal of themselves besides, and meant that Parliaments should have just as much power as they ever had before. So they were not willing to let Charles have a large standing army like Oliver, nor did they give him money enough of his own to set him free from the need of asking Parliament for more.

6. We must see what Charles was like, and what were

Puritans
called Dis-
senter.

Views of
the Parlia-
ment.

the aims which he set before him. Charles was thirty years old when he came to the throne. He liked to take life easily, and to enjoy himself. He was a clever and witty talker ; his manners were pleasant, and he was always liked by the people in London, who were glad to see him sauntering in St. James' Park, feeding the ducks and playing with his spaniels. Charles was, however, a thoroughly selfish man. He did not care what means he took to gain his ends. He often deceived his ministers as to what he really meant to do, for he was a clever deceiver. He thought that everyone was either a dupe or a hypocrite.

Character
and aims of
Charles II.

Charles could not hope to rule without Parliaments. Still he wished to be free of the control of Parliament and to be able to spend money, and have his own way, without being called to answer for what he did by the Commons. He wished also to have a standing army like his cousin, Lewis XIV., the king of France.

About religion Charles cared little, but, in his heart, he seems to have thought that the Roman Catholic form of religion was the best. If he could get toleration for Catholics by giving toleration to Dissenters also he was willing to do so. Still Charles II. was not a man who runs into danger. Plenty of money, toleration for Catholics, a standing army—these were the three things which he thought most worth getting, but he would not risk his crown for them or for anything else. As he was once heard to say, he did not mean to go on his travels again. It was always well to give way and wait until the right time came.

7. In the course of a very few years the Parliament began to go against the king. In 1664 Charles went to war with the Dutch. At first the English gained the advantage, but afterwards they were less successful. This displeased the

War with
the Dutch,
1664-1667.

Commons, who had voted large sums for carrying on the war. They thought, and thought truly, that the king spent the money on his own amusements at Whitehall, instead of fitting out ships and paying his soldiers and sailors ; so they made Charles let them look through his account books to see how the money which they gave him was spent. In 1667, while Charles' fleet was laid up for want of repairs, the Dutch sailed up the Medway as far as Chatham and burned three English men-of-war. After this, peace had to be made with the Dutch upon their own terms.

8. While the Dutch war lasted, two great calamities befell London. Owing to the neglected state of the streets, and the dirty habits of the people, towns and villages were often visited with plagues. None, however, within man's memory was so fatal to life as the Great Plague of 1665. It was reckoned that one out of every ten of the inhabitants of London died. The Great Plague was followed by a great fire. For three days and three nights the flames burned on without stopping, and at the end of that time two-thirds of London was in ashes. The old houses had been of timber ; the new houses were built of brick. The present domed church of St. Paul was built on the site of the old cathedral, which stood in the middle of the part where the fire raged (1666).

9. Heavy taxes, the Dutch war, the plague and the fire all came together, bringing much distress after them.

The king's chief minister had to answer. This was the Lord Chancellor, Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon. In his youth Hyde had sat in the Long Parliament, and had taken part in the impeachment of Strafford. He had afterwards become a Royalist, and was with Charles II. in his exile. He was now much disliked, both because he had got Charles to sell Dunkirk to Lewis

XIV., and because he had gone against the enquiry made by the Commons into the king's accounts. Charles himself was tired of his minister; for though Clarendon did not wish that the king should have to give way to the wishes of the Commons, his notions were too old-fashioned to let him like the thought of keeping up a standing army, or of letting Catholics or Dissenters worship as they chose. Being impeached by the Commons of high treason (1667), he fled to France, where he soon afterwards died.

CHAPTER II.

OPPOSITION BETWEEN KING AND PARLIAMENT.

(1668-1678.)

I. To understand what took place in England, we must see what was passing on the other side of the Channel. A hundred years ago Spain had been the most powerful country on the Continent. But since that time France had risen to hold the place once held by Spain. Lewis XIV. was very powerful and very ambitious. He wanted to conquer the Netherlands, which belonged to Spain, as well as other territories bordering France on the east and north-east, and thus to make his kingdom reach to the banks of the Rhine. Men in England greatly feared the power of Lewis. They were therefore glad when in 1668 Charles made an alliance, called the Triple Alliance, between England, Holland, and Sweden, to force Lewis to make peace with Spain. Charles, however, did not really care about standing against Lewis nearly so much as about having plenty of money, and being free of the control of Parliament. Lewis soon found this out, and he and Charles made an agreement together. Lewis agreed to

The Triple
Alliance and
Treaty of
Dover.

give Charles money, and Charles agreed to join Lewis in making war on Holland by land and sea, and to declare himself a Catholic. This treaty, which was made at Dover, was of course kept secret; only two of the king's ministers, who themselves were Catholics, knew of it (1670).

2. Charles never dared call himself a Catholic. Still he thought he might do something for Catholics. So he published what was called a Declaration of Indulgence, saying that both Catholics and Dissenters might worship in their own way. People at once asked what right the king had to set aside or suspend all the Acts of Parliament which forbade Dissenters and Catholics to worship in their own way. The next time Parliament met, the Commons called the Declaration unlawful, and would not give Charles any money until he withdrew it (1673).

3. At the same time that Charles published the Declaration of Indulgence he went to war with Holland (1672). Though the secret treaty was not known of, everybody thought that some league had been made between Charles, Lewis, and the Catholics to let Charles rule by means of a standing army, and overthrow the Protestant religion. Charles was getting together an army to invade Holland. It was said that the officers were all Catholics. The Commons wished to drive them out of office. So they got Charles to give his consent to a law, which said that all persons holding office in the state were to take the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, and swear that they did not believe the Romish doctrine of the presence of our Lord's body and blood in the bread and wine (1673). This new law went by the name of the Test Act, for it tested who were Catholics. James, the Duke of York, the king's brother, was a Catholic. So he had to give up his post of

Declaration
of Indul-
gence.

The Test
Act.

Lord Admiral. Many other officers had to give up their posts. When it was seen how many Catholics had been in office Protestants became more frightened than before. The Commons would no longer give money for making war on the Dutch, a Protestant people, manfully fighting Lewis in spite of great odds. So to content them Charles had to make peace with Holland, and turn two of his ministers out of office (1674).

4. The king's attempt to give Catholics liberty of worship had failed, and had only made Protestants dislike and fear them more than before. For men thought that Charles was a Catholic, and that his aim was to govern by the aid of Catholics without heeding the wishes of Parliament. The more eager, therefore, he showed himself to do something for Catholics, the more eager the Parliament became to keep the laws in force. On the other hand, Dissenters were not feared so much as they had been fourteen years ago. It was seen that Charles was trying to get their aid against the Parliament by setting aside the laws against them. Many Churchmen, therefore, had come round to think that it would be well for Protestants to overlook differences between themselves and stand together as friends, for the sake of the Protestant faith and the power of Parliament. Even in the Cavalier Parliament the Dissenters found friends, willing to pass an Act of Parliament in their favour. There were also other signs of change. People were so afraid of what Charles might do, that they again began to say that it was lawful to take up arms in defence of the Protestant religion, of laws and liberties. So the Cavalier Parliament split into two parties. The larger party still held that it was unlawful to take up arms against a king; but the smaller party, which was also friendly to the Dissenters, held that it was lawful to go against a king, if he used his power ill.

Opposition
in Parlia-
ment.

The leader of this smaller party was Antony Ashley Cooper. He was a little man, of a restless spirit, very clever, very ambitious, and, like other statesmen of his time, very heedless what he did to gain his ends. Once he had served Cromwell, but after the Restoration he had become Charles' minister, and had been made Earl of Shaftesbury. Charles kept secret from him that he had promised Lewis to declare himself a Catholic, for he knew that, although Shaftesbury wanted to do something for Dissenters, he did not like Catholics. Perhaps Shaftesbury found out what the king had done, but at any rate he suddenly took part against him, speaking in Parliament against the Declaration of Indulgence and the war with Holland. Charles turned him out of office, and then he became the leader of Charles' opponents in Parliament.

5. There was now a great thing which Shaftesbury wished to do. Charles had no children by his wife Catherine of Braganza, a princess of Portugal. The aims of Shaftesbury. The heir to the throne was the king's brother, James, the Duke of York, who had declared himself a Catholic. Shaftesbury made up his mind that, if he could help it, no Catholic should sit on the English throne. But it was hard to shut James out. The members of the Commons were, it was true, in a very ill-temper with Charles, because they thought him a bad Protestant. Still, most of them believed that kings had their power from God, and that it was wrong to take it away from them. However much afraid of Catholics, therefore, they would never pass an Act of Parliament to shut James, the next heir, out from the throne. So Shaftesbury set to work to force Charles to dissolve this Parliament and call a new one, for he thought that, when new elections were held, the electors would choose members who would do the things which he wished done.

6. We must see what Charles and Lewis were about. Charles had money given him by Lewis every year, on condition that he did not go to war with France. After a time, however, he began to draw further away from Lewis and nearer to his own Parliament. His brother James had married Anne Hyde, the daughter of that Earl of Clarendon who was impeached in 1667. Their children, Mary and Anne, had been brought up Protestants. Charles now agreed to a marriage between Mary and William, the Prince of Orange, his nephew (1677), who had lately become Stadtholder, or President of the Dutch Republic, and who was Lewis' ablest and most bitter enemy. Charles afterwards told the Commons that he was ready to go to war with Lewis, if needful, to force him to make peace with Spain. The Commons were glad at the thought of a war with France, and voted the king a large sum of money. It is hard to say whether Charles really meant to go to war with France. But he got a grant of money, and an excuse for raising an army to use against the Parliament, if need were.

Charles
quarrels
with Lewis.

7. When Lewis saw Charles making up to the Parliament, and talking of war with France, he became angry and alarmed. The Earl of Danby, at this time Charles' chief minister, often bribed members of Parliament not to act against the king's wishes. So, to ward off danger, Lewis did the same thing, giving money to the followers of Shaftesbury, and promising to try and get Charles to dissolve the Parliament, if they would stop his going to war with France.

Lewis and
the Opposition.

8. As soon as Charles had got together an army, men were frightened lest he should use it against the Parliament, and would gladly have seen the soldiers sent home again. But when the Commons wanted Charles to do this he refused, saying he needed

The Popish
plot.

the army to keep the country in a state of defence. While people were in this uneasy and suspicious state of mind, a man, named Titus Oates, came forward with a long story about a Popish plot (1678). The king, he said, was going to be murdered and the Catholics to make themselves rulers. Now this story was most likely untrue from beginning to end. But it was believed, because it fell in with what everybody was thinking at the time, that there was some plot against the Parliament and the Protestant faith. Oates had only to say here is the plot, and all were ready to join in the cry.

9. When Parliament met again, Shaftesbury made use of the terror the members were in to get a new Test Act passed, which would shut Catholics out of the House of Lords. While Elizabeth was queen, an Act of Parliament had been made ordering members of the House of Commons to take the oath of Supremacy, which said that the queen was supreme governor of the realm, and that the pope had no power in it. But members of the House of Lords had not had to take this oath. So now, by the new Act, all members of Parliament had to take the oath, and to say besides that the worship of Saints was idolatrous, and that they did not believe the doctrine of the presence of Christ's body and blood in the bread and wine. The Lords, while the bill was passing through their House, put in some words to say that the Duke of York need not say this, but other Catholic Peers had henceforth to deny their religion or stay away from Parliament.

10. Lewis now took his revenge on Charles for threatening France with war. The Earl of Danby had written very unwillingly, by Charles' command, a letter asking Lewis to give Charles money. Lewis now had this letter laid before the Commons, who at once impeached Danby. Charles, to

Catholics
shut out of
the House
of Lords.

Dissolution
of Parlia-
ment.

save his minister, did the thing which Shaftesbury wished him to do, and dissolved the Parliament (December, 1678).

II. About this time two words came into use, which long lasted as the names of two parties in England. Those who said that James, though a Catholic, ought to reign were nicknamed *Tories*, after some bands of wild Irish Catholics, called Tories. Those who wished to shut James out from the throne, because he was not a Protestant, were nicknamed *Whigs*, after some bands of Presbyterians called Whiggamores, who were in arms in Scotland. The Tories, or people who wished James to reign, were the clergy of the established Church, and all others who said that kings had their power from God, and might not be withstood by force of arms. The Whigs, or people who wished James not to reign, were the Dissenters, and all others who held that kings might be withstood by force of arms, if laws and liberties were in danger.

CHAPTER III.

EXCLUSION BILLS AND THE POPISH PLOT. (1679-1681.)

I. CHARLES called another Parliament in 1679. The people were so afraid of Catholics that everywhere the electors chose Whigs to sit in the House of Commons. Charles tried to gain the good-will of the Parliament by turning Danby out of office, and sending his soldiers home again. But nothing would satisfy the Commons but the passing of an Act of Parliament to shut James out from the throne. Charles dissolved the Parliament and called a second, which proved of just the same temper as the first. He dissolved the second and called a third. It was to meet at Oxford instead of

London, where the Whig party was very strong. When it was opened, bands of London citizens came up to Oxford wearing ribands, on which were the words 'No Popery, no Slavery!' The great Whig lords brought up their tenants in arms. The king on his side came attended by his guards. It seemed as if a civil war was on the point of breaking out, and Charles dissolved the Parliament before it had sat three weeks (1681).

2. No exclusion bill had passed the House of Lords in any of these three Parliaments, and already the Whigs had not so many friends as before. For, besides the shutting out of James, men had to think of whom they were to make king in James' stead. Shaftesbury put forward as future king the Duke of Monmouth. Monmouth was Charles' son, but his mother had never been married to Charles, so that he had no claim to the throne. The country people were, it was true, fond of him, and when he travelled would gather in crowds to welcome him. But Shaftesbury was not wise in wishing to make Monmouth king. Mary, the wife of the Prince of Orange, was the heir next after her father James. She was a Protestant, and many of the Whigs were unwilling to pass her by. Then, again, there were many people who when they were very much afraid of Catholics took the part of the Whigs, but when they were very much afraid of Dissenters took the part of the Tories. These now went over to the Tories, for they feared lest the Dissenters should get too much power, and thought that of the two they would sooner have James than Monmouth to reign over them.

3. When it was found that Oates was honoured and rewarded for having found out a dangerous plot, more men came forward with stories against the Catholics. All the time that the Exclusion Bills were being fought over numbers of Catholics were

Shaftesbury
and Mon-
mouth.

The Popish
plot.

being tried and put to death for treason. It did not matter how unlikely the stories brought against them were, for the jurymen believed them guilty before they were tried, and the judges took the part of their accusers. Shaftesbury, though he knew that Oates was a liar, did all he could to keep alive the fear of the people. Charles, like Shaftesbury, did not believe in Oates' stories. But he did not try to save the Catholics. For he thought the more innocent blood the Whigs shed, the more surely would people come round in time to take his side. He judged quite rightly. The cruelty and violence with which Shaftesbury acted in the end told against him. Men were getting ashamed of ever having trusted in the word of Oates and his fellows. Juries began to say that the prisoners were innocent, and the crowd, which used to shout with joy when a Catholic was sent to the scaffold, now shouted with joy when one was set at liberty. When Lord Stafford, an old man of upwards of seventy, told the people from the scaffold that he was innocent, they answered him with shouts of 'God bless you, my lord!' 'We believe you, my lord!'

4. Though the Whigs did not get James shut out from reigning, they got Charles' consent to one very important law, called the *Habeas Corpus* Act. The Petition of Right had said that no man was to be put in prison without a cause being given, in order that he might not be kept in prison and never brought to trial. But the king's ministers had still found ways of doing this. So the *Habeas Corpus* Act now said that the judges were to give writs of *Habeas Corpus* to prisoners who asked for them, and to set them at liberty if they could be trusted to come at the proper time and answer to the crimes laid to their charge. Gaolers were always, on receiving writs of *Habeas Corpus*, to bring their prisoners before the judges, except those accused of treason, murder, and

other crimes called felonies. But in order that such might not be kept in prison for long, their trial was to take place within a certain time or else they too were to be set at liberty. The *Habeas Corpus* Act did not lay down anything new, for it was an old right of Englishmen not to be kept in prison at the pleasure of the king. But it laid down the law in such clear and plain words that henceforth the king and his ministers could not claim the right to set it aside in any case (1679).

CHAPTER IV.

REACTION AGAINST THE WHIGS. (1681-1685.)

1. CHARLES now again had money every year from Lewis on condition that he did not go to war with France. He was thus able to rule for four years without calling another Parliament together. Meanwhile he tried to make his own power stronger, and to put down the Whigs.

2. Many towns had got charters from former kings giving them privileges, such as the right of setting up their own mayors and magistrates. The Whigs had much power in these places. So now London and other towns were accused of having made a wrong use of their privileges, and their charters were taken away from them. Charles indeed gave them back new charters, but he took care that the mayors, aldermen, and other officers should all be Tories. He also took care that only the chief people, whom he could easily influence, should be let vote at the election of members of Parliament. After making these changes he might hope at a future day to meet a House of Commons from which the Whig party should be almost quite shut

out. Meanwhile, Whigs were brought to trial on various charges. Many were fined, imprisoned, and put to death. Shaftesbury fled to Holland, where he died soon afterwards.

3. The Whigs grieved over the failure of their plans. James was not shut out from reigning. The king, though not doing anything that was exactly unlawful—Whig conspiracies. for it was the judges who said he had a right to take away the charters—was yet robbing the towns of any real liberty either in the choice of their own officers, or of members of Parliament. Lord William Russell was one of the chief leaders of the Whig party. He used to meet with some of his friends and talk over plans of rising in arms. Shaftesbury had amongst his followers old soldiers of Cromwell's army. These knew of the meetings of the Whig leaders, and thought that they would help on their plans by making a plot of their own, to waylay Charles and his brother, perhaps to shoot them, as they passed from Newmarket to London by a lonely farm-house, called the Rye House, in Hertfordshire. The plans of these conspirators, as well as the meetings of the Whig leaders, were betrayed to the king's ministers. Russell was tried for treason. Though he had known nothing of the Rye House Plot, and though the fact that he had ever thought of rebellion was not clearly proved against him, the jury still found him guilty. Russell would not own that he had done anything wrong. The people, he thought, had a right to stand up for their religion and liberties when these were taken from them on any pretence. Charles held that the man who thought thus was too dangerous to let live. 'If I do not take his life,' he said, 'he will soon take mine.' So Russell was put to death in 1683.

Charles died in February, 1685, and was succeeded by his brother James.

BOOK VII.

1685-1688.

THE REIGN OF JAMES II.

CHAPTER I.

CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS. (1685-1687.)

1. JAMES II. had barely reigned four months when a rebellion broke out in the west. Many Whigs had fled to Holland, after the dissolution of the short Parliament at Oxford in 1681. These now set sail with Monmouth at their head, and landed at Lyme-Regis, in Dorsetshire. Peasants, small farmers, and shopkeepers gathered together to fight for Monmouth; but as no Whig noblemen or gentlemen took part with him, he had no chance of winning. His brave little army of peasants was routed by the royal troops on Sedgemoor, in Somersetshire. He himself was taken prisoner, hiding in a ditch in peasant's clothes. He was brought to London and there beheaded. A brutal judge, called Jeffreys, was sent by James into the west to try the rebels, and did so with so much harshness and cruelty, that his name was hated by all men. The country was covered with gibbets. Even girls at school, who had given Monmouth banners, were cast into prison. A suppliant came to Whitehall to beg mercy for her brother. 'Do not flatter yourself with hopes,' said one of the officers of James' army, John Churchill, afterwards the Duke of Marlborough; 'this marble,' and he laid his hand on the chimney-piece, 'is not harder than the king.'

2. James was neither a good nor a clever man. He had a hard, cruel nature. He also set his mind on making everyone think like himself. He called a Parliament

soon after he came to the throne. He hoped that it would grant him plenty of money to keep up a large standing army, and also do away with the laws against Catholics. The House of Commons was filled with Tories. They were willing to do a great deal for James, but not the two things which he wanted them to do. They dreaded a standing army as much as the Whigs. They were quite as unwilling to do away with the laws against Catholics as the Whigs. So James, finding that the Parliament would not help him to carry out his wishes, brought the session to an end, and never called the members together again (1685).

3. James next set to work to carry out his plans by means of his royal power. The king claimed in certain cases to set aside, or dispense with, a law in favour of an individual. For instance, he could grant a pardon to a murderer. James, therefore, first set four men to be judges who would explain the law as he wished it to be explained, and then caused one of his servants to accuse a Catholic, who was in command of a regiment, of not having taken the sacrament as the Test Act required. A trial was held, and the judges said that James had the right to set aside the Test Act in favour of an individual. Now, of course, what the judges said that it was lawful for James to do in the case of one man, it was also lawful for him to do in the case of other men. So, after this trial, James paid no heed whatever to the laws, but put very many Catholics in office, and even made them members of the universities and members of his council (1686).

4. James knew that all Churchmen were very angry with him for thus putting Catholics on an equal footing with members of the Church of England. So he thought it wise to try and make the Dissenters his friends. With this end he published a

The aims of James.

The Dispensing Power.

Declaration of Indulgence.

Declaration of Indulgence, giving leave both to Catholics and to Dissenters to worship in public and private according to their own forms (1687). This Declaration of Indulgence was looked on by all men as a breach of the law. For, though the judges had told James that he might set aside a law in favour of one man at a time, they had never said that he might, in this general way, set aside a large number of laws at once.

5. James still wanted to get the laws done away with by an Act of Parliament. He was now an old man, and he could not hide from himself that, as soon as he was dead, the laws would be put in force again. So in hopes of presently meeting a Parliament which should carry out his wishes, he undid his brother's work, turning out of office Tory magistrates both in town and country, and setting in their places Catholics and Dissenters. This was a very bold thing for James to do. He made bitter enemies of the Tories, who hitherto had said that the king's commands must always be obeyed, and who had placed him on the throne. Nor could he after all win the Dissenters to promise to stand by him. Though they were given freedom to worship in their own way, they could not bring themselves to act with Catholics, or uphold the Declaration of Indulgence, which they looked on as unlawful. Besides more tempting offers were being made them by others. The clergy of the Church of England and other Tories were now in such great fear of Catholics, that they began to feel, like those Churchmen who were Whigs, that after all the Dissenters were Protestants, and, as such, friends. So Tories and Whigs agreed in telling the Dissenters, that if instead of taking part with the king and the Catholics, they would stand fast to the cause of the laws and the Church of England, they should presently have an Act of Parliament giving them leave to worship in their own way.

Dissenters
go against
James.

CHAPTER II.

THE REVOLUTION. (1688.)

1. JAMES would not give way in spite of all warnings. He published a second Declaration of Indulgence, and ordered it to be read by all ministers on two following Sundays at the time of service. Episcopalians and Dissenters agreed to disobey this command. Sancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and six bishops drew up a petition, in which they told the king that they could not with a safe conscience read his Declaration, because it was unlawful. Tories, like Whigs, had come to think that they were most loyal to their king when they obeyed the laws.

The Bishops' Petition.

2. On the appointed day the Declaration was read in only four London churches. In the country the clergy were equally disobedient. James wished to punish the bishops for having set the example of resistance. Their petition had been printed and sold by thousands of copies. So he brought them before the Court of King's Bench on the charge of having published a false, seditious, and malicious libel. The court was so full that there was hardly standing room. Thirty-five peers were seen in the crowd. It was proved that the bishops were the authors of the petition; the next question was, whether it was a libel? That was a point which the lawyers and judges had to explain to the jury. The judges knew that James would be angry with them if they did not say the petition was a libel. But on that day they were very careful of their words. They felt that James would soon have done all he could, and they feared the anger of a future Parliament more than the loss of office. The Chief Justice, one who was there said, looked as if all the peers present had halters in

The trial of the Bishops.

their pockets. There were four judges in the court. Only two said that the petition was a libel. Not one said that the Declaration of Indulgence was lawful. When the jury gave a verdict of 'Not Guilty,' such a shout was raised by the crowd within the court and the crowd standing outside, that it was heard for a mile off. Never had the bishops been so dear to the people. Every Protestant, were he Episcopalian, Presbyterian, or Sec-tarian, was on their side. As they left the court men dropped on their knees, begging a blessing of them. Bonfires were lighted in the streets, and the church bells set ringing as at times of great rejoicing (June, 1688).

Men were now tired of James' rule, and looked for some other to set in his place as king.

3. William of Orange was the son of Mary, a daughter of Charles I. He was, therefore, both nephew and son-in-law of James. On the same day on which the bishops were found 'not guilty,' a letter was sent to William, asking him to come to England at the head of an army. It was signed by seven leaders of the Whig and Tory parties. Men who had once stood against one another had joined together against James II., who had made enemies of his friends.

William of
Orange
called in.

James wished to be independent of Parliament. So, although he was a proud man and felt ashamed of the act, like Charles before him he took money of Lewis, knowing that in return he must do as Lewis told him in foreign affairs. Foreign princes, therefore, who were Lewis' enemies, and hoped to get England to join an alliance against him, wished success to William's expedition.

William landed at Torbay in November, 1688, with a small army of Dutch and English troops. Both Whig and Tory noblemen and gentlemen soon came in numbers to welcome him. James, finding the very officers of his army desert him, after a little hesitation fled to France.

He hoped by the aid of Lewis to be set again on his throne.

4. The Tories did not wish to put James off the throne, but to call him back and let him rule if he agreed to rule in the manner they wished. But they could not have their way, because they no longer had the favour of the people. A Parliament met, in which the Whigs were the stronger party. The throne was declared vacant, and the crown was given to William and Mary as joint rulers. Parliament at the same time drew up a Declaration of Rights. This laid down the terms on which the Lords and Commons gave the crown away. Those means by which the Stuarts had tried to rule without asking the advice of Parliament were declared unlawful. Parliaments, the Declaration of Rights said, ought to be often held ; the king might not raise taxes or keep a standing army without consent of Parliament ; he might not set aside laws or fail to put laws in force without consent of Parliament (February, 1689). This Declaration afterwards was given the royal consent in the form of a law which was called the Bill of Rights.

The Declaration of Rights.

CONCLUSION.

THE revolution which set William and Mary on the throne brought to an end the long struggle between the king and the Parliament. William took the crown knowing that he must give way to the wishes of the House of Commons. He could not claim any right to the throne, save the right given him by Act of Parliament. The king who claimed powers from God that were above the laws was his rival James. If William had made like claims he must have lost his throne at once.

The closer union between king and Parliament that followed the Revolution brought about, amongst other

things, that England was able to take a more active and successful part in foreign affairs. The Stuarts could not carry on wars successfully because they would not give way to the wishes of Parliament, and could not tax their subjects without consent of Parliament. The secret of Cromwell's strength lay in the fact that he had a standing army, and so could take taxes of his own will if Parliament refused to grant them. Had the Stuarts been able, like him, to force men to obey them by means of a standing army, Parliaments must have ceased to have any real power, and the king would have been able to rule according to his own will, in whatever way he thought best.

After the Revolution monarchy above the law was no longer possible in England. This victory had not been gained without a heavy price. There had been many years of revolution, and many acts of violence had been done. In the midst of change and danger men had grown up false and self-seeking. The leaders of the Parliaments which stood against James I. and Charles I. thought a great deal of their country, little of themselves and their own fortunes. The statesmen of the time of Charles II. and James II. were greedy after power and riches, and thought little of the rights of the people.

William had not reigned many months when an Act of Parliament was passed giving leave to Dissenters to worship in their own way. It was also during the reign of William that the press was set free, so that men could write and publish books and newspapers without first getting leave of the king's ministers.

We thus see that we have travelled a long way since 1603. Then it would have been held folly, if not treason, to say that Parliament was to be first, the king second ; or to say that Protestants, who did not think as their neighbours thought, were to be free to worship in their own way, and to teach their own beliefs.

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